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A COMPREHENSIVE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL,

FROM

THE FIRST LANDING OF THE ENGLISH,

TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT;

INCLUDING

AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF HINDOOSTAN.

By HENRY BEVERIDGE, Esq.,

ADVOCATE.

ILLUSTRATED BY ABOVE FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS.

DIVISION II.

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THE VALLEY OF THE GANGES FROM BENARES TO CAWNPOOR.

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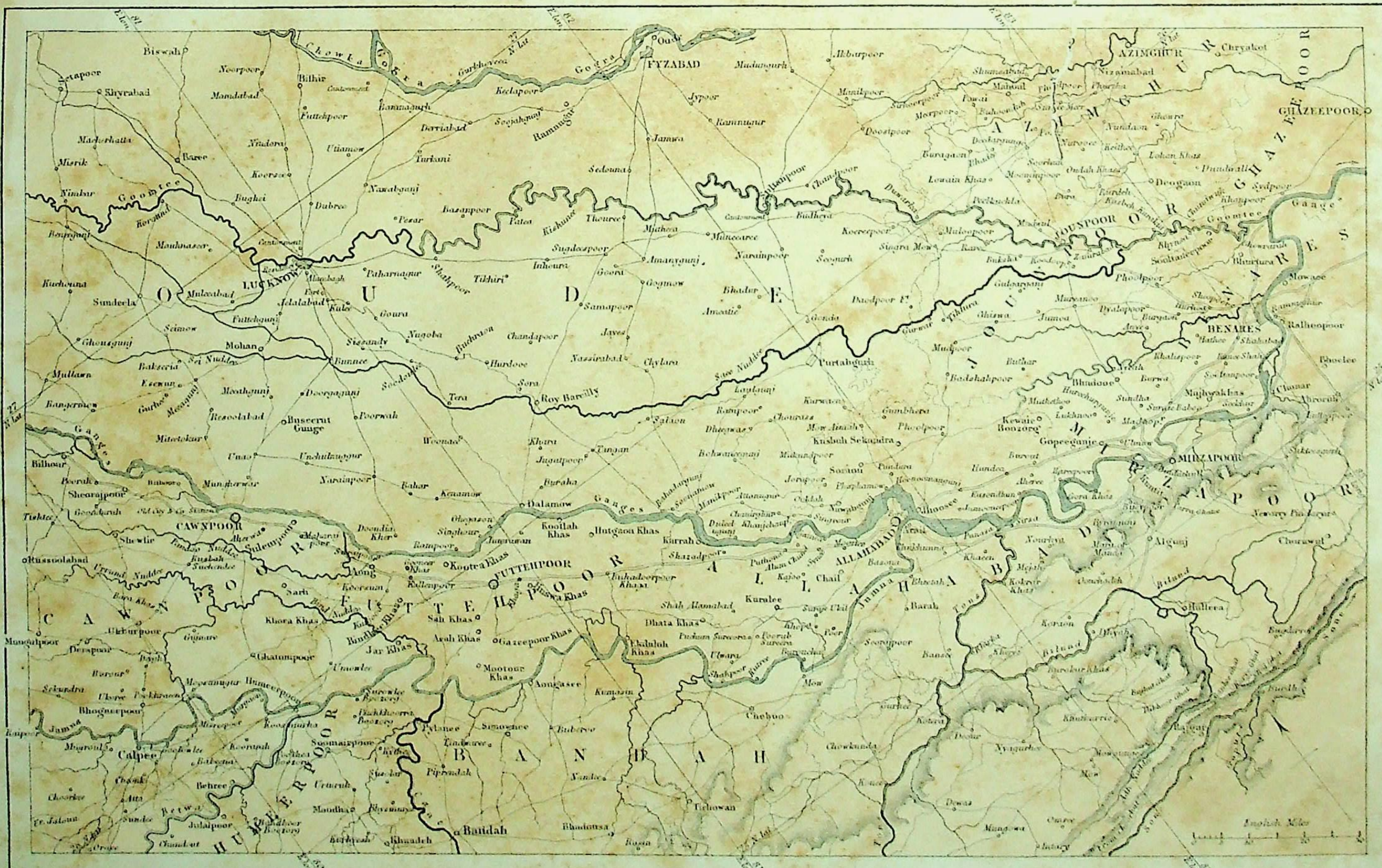
THE VALLEY OF THE GANGES FROM BENARES TO CAWNPOOR.



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to the *Hector*, which had hitherto kept by him, to continue her voyage and leave him to his fate. It must be confessed, that in taking this step he displayed singular resolution and devotedness. At the time when he gave what he believed to be his final orders to the captain of the *Hector*, he hastily addressed a letter to his employers in the following terms:— A.D. 1603. Homeward voyage.

"Right Worshipful,—What hath passed in this voyage, and what trades I have settled for this Company, and what other events have befallen us, you shall understand by the bearers hereof, to whom (as occasion hath happened) I must refer you. I will strive with all diligence to save my ship and her goods, as you may perceive by the course I take in venturing my own life, and those that are with me. I cannot tell where you should look for me, if you send out any pinnace to seek me, because I live at the devotion of the winds and seas. And thus fare you well; desiring God to send us a merry meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.—Your loving Friend,

"JAMES LANCASTER."

The captain of the *Hector*, unwilling to leave his commander in desperate circumstances, still managed to keep him in sight; and ultimately, after redoubling the Cape of Good Hope during the storm without seeing it, both vessels reached St. Helena. Three months after, on the 11th of September, 1603, they cast anchor in the Downs. The *Ascension* and *Susan* had previously arrived; and thus, though numbers of the crews had perished, all the vessels and their cargoes returned safe.

Both as a first experiment under the charter, and in a pecuniary view, the voyage was eminently successful. Two factories at important stations had been established under the most favourable circumstances; and the clear profits, estimated at ninety-five per cent., were nearly as large as the whole capital adventured. It ought to be observed, however, that these profits cannot properly be considered mercantile, as a large portion of them had been obtained, not by legitimate trading, but in the course of a predatory cruise. Successful result.

Before Lancaster returned Queen Elizabeth had paid the debt of nature; but the deep interest which she took in the proceedings of the Company had previously been manifested by a letter, in which she remonstrated with them for having allowed a second year to pass without entering into a new subscription; and plainly hinted, that "in not following up the business in the manner the Dutch did, it seemed as if little regard was entertained either for her majesty's honour, or the honour of the country." Strange to say, the remonstrance proved unavailing, and no preparations were made for a second voyage till the success of the first was actually ascertained.

In the second voyage the same vessels were employed as in the first, but the commands were different—Captain Henry Middleton sailing in the *Red Dragon* as admiral, and Captain Sufflet in the *Hector* as vice-admiral. The subscription, which appears to have been mainly advanced by the same parties Second voyage.

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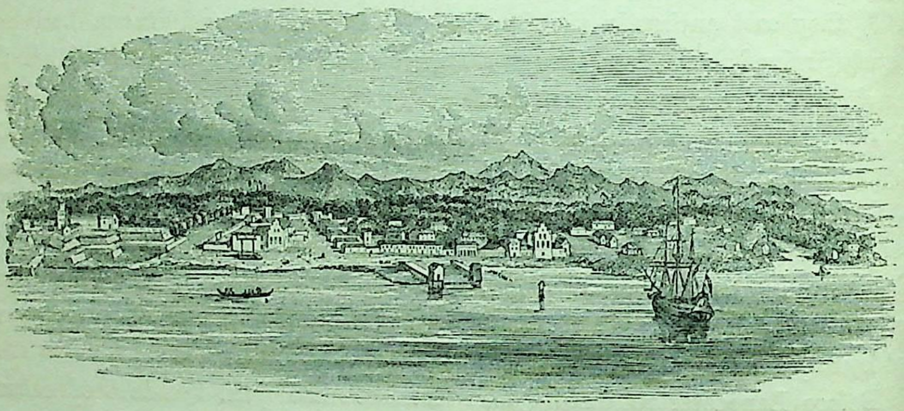
A.D. 1604.

as before, since both voyages were afterwards entered in one account, amounted to £60,450. Of this sum, the repair, equipment, and provision of the vessels absorbed no less than £48,140, whereas the amount carried out in goods was only £1142; the remainder was bullion. The very paltry sum allowed for goods may perhaps be accounted for by the large quantity of Portuguese prize goods which Lancaster had left for future sale in the factories of Acheen and Bantam.

The vessels left Gravesend on the 25th of March, 1604; and by this early departure avoiding the blunder by which they had formerly lost the proper season, arrived safely in Bantam Road on the 20th of December following. Here they found six ships and three or four pinnaces belonging to the Dutch, with whom for a time a friendly intercourse was kept up, the Dutch admiral dining aboard the *Dragon*. At Bantam this intercourse remained undisturbed; and the *Hector* and *Susan* having completed their cargoes about the middle of February, 1605, set sail for England. The *Red Dragon* and *Ascension* proceeded for the Moluccas, from which the Dutch were then endeavouring to expel the Portuguese. In this having so far succeeded as to compel the surrender of the castle of Amboyna, the Dutch immediately altered their tone to the

Attempt to trade with the Spice Islands.



Amboyna.—Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

English, and formally debarred them from trading to that island. On general principles, there is good ground for disputing the exclusive title which the Dutch thus assumed; but it seems impossible to deny that the Company were not the proper parties to call it in question, as they were expressly prohibited, by a clause in their charter, from attempting to establish a trade at any place in the actual possession of any friendly Christian power which should openly object to it. But there were other islands of the Molucca group, to which, as the Dutch could not pretend to be in possession of them, the objection could not apply; and the English vessels were only exercising a right which undoubtedly belonged to them, when they endeavoured to carry on a traffic with Ternate, Tidore, and Banda. Circumstances, however, were unpropitious; and the Dutch,

Ternate, Tidore, and Banda.

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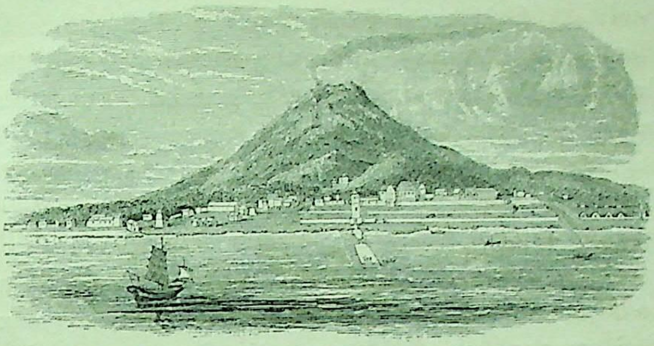
when they did not dare to use force, scrupled not to avail themselves of intrigue and misrepresentation, which were almost equally effectual in securing the great object of their ambition—a complete monopoly of the spice trade.

A.D. 1604.



TERNATE.—From Nieuhof.[1]

The *Red Dragon* and *Ascension*, after remaining for some time in the Moluccas, though not in company, met again in the road of Bantam, from which they sailed for Europe on the 6th of October, 1605. The *Susan*, which had sailed some time before, was never heard of; but the other three vessels, the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, and *Ascension*, after rendezvousing in Saldanha Bay, proceeded home in company, and cast anchor in the Downs on the 6th of May, 1606. Notwithstanding the loss of the *Susan* the returns were favourable; and the two voyages, thrown, as already mentioned, into one account, nearly doubled the capital which had been adventured in them. It is still necessary, however, in calculating the profit, to remember that a considerable portion of it was derived not from trade, but from privateering; and that the ninety-five per cent. said to have been returned was not realized in one year, but after a series of years, partly occupied with the voyages, and partly spun out in long credits allowed to purchasers.

Results of the second voyage.

In 1604, shortly after the vessels had sailed on their second voyage, King James I. granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne, whose recommendation by Lord Burleigh for employment by the Company has been already mentioned, to trade to "Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, &c." These countries, though the Company had not yet visited them, are within the limits of their charter, and the license was therefore an interference with the rights conferred by it. It was not, however, so indefensible as it is usually represented. Sir Edward was a member of the Company, and was therefore entitled to the full use of all the privileges which they enjoyed. The intention, no doubt, was that a joint stock should have been established, but the attempt had as yet failed; and the voyages hitherto made, though carried on in the name of the Company, were truly for the benefit only of individual adventurers. In these circumstances, it might have been made a question whether every member was not entitled to claim a similar privilege in his own name, and for his own behoof. Even assuming that the affirmative of this question could not be

License to Sir Edward Michelborne.

[1] *Gesandschaf von der Hollandische-Ostindischen Campagnie an den Kaiser in China*, 1655.

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A.D. 1608. maintained, another important consideration remains behind. The crown only renounced the right of granting a license "without the consent" of the Company; and before it can be said, with Bruce, that "this license was a direct violation of the exclusive privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth to the London East India Company," it must be shown not only that the license was given, but that the Company refused to consent. The probability is that they were not consulted on the subject; but, knowing that they had the power of objecting, if, from prudential considerations, they refrained from exercising it, they foreclosed themselves, and were not afterwards entitled to complain. The charter might be withdrawn at any time after two years' notice; and it is not to be presumed that the Company would have ventured, by withholding their consent, to oppose any of the wishes or even whims of the crown, and thereby imperilled their very existence. However, the Company may have felt they acted wisely in refraining from remonstrance, and allowing Sir Edward Michelborne to make the most of his license. Though he covered his design with the name of trade, his whole conduct showed that his only object was to enrich himself by privateering. In this he so signally failed as to give the Company the best security that no such licenses would again be granted.

Third voyage.

The third voyage—undertaken on a subscription of £53,500, of which £28,560 was expended in equipping three ships, the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Consent;* £7280 on goods, and £17,600 in bullion—sailed in 1607, under the command of Captain Keeling. The *Consent*, a ship of 115 tons burden, commanded by Captain David Middleton, was first despatched, and made the voyage by herself without afterwards joining her companions. Weighing anchor from Tilbury Hope on the 12th of March, she made a prosperous voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, which was doubled on the 30th of July, and reached Bantam Road on the 14th of November. Having here landed the iron and lead which formed the cargo, refitted the ship, and taken in some goods for barter, Captain Middleton sailed for the Moluccas, which he reached in the beginning of January, 1608. After experiencing considerable obstruction from the Portuguese, who, as a condition of trading, insisted that he should join them in their hostilities against the Dutch, he set sail without having obtained a cargo, but had the good fortune, while off the island of Boutong, near the south-east extremity of the Celebes, to fall in with a Java junk laden with cloves from Amboyna. The master of the junk offered his whole cargo for sale, and Middleton purchased for £2948, 15*s.*, a quantity which was afterwards sold in England for £36,287. The object of his voyage having been thus accomplished, he hastened back to the factory at Bantam, landed the supercargoes who had accompanied him to the Moluccas, and then set sail for England, which he reached in December.

Purchase of cloves.

The *Dragon* and *Hector*, the one commanded by Captain Keeling as admiral, and the other by Captain Hawkins, quitted the Downs on the 1st of April,

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A.D. 1609.

1607, and encountering very tempestuous weather, during which many of the crew became diseased, took shelter in Sierra Leone, doubtful whether to prosecute the voyage or retrace their steps to England. The bolder course was ultimately adopted; and, after doubling the Cape, the voyage was continued northwards along the east coast of Africa as far as the island of Socotra, where 2400 lbs. of aloes were purchased at the rate of 5 lbs. for a dollar. The two ships afterwards separated, Captain Hawkins proceeding directly to Surat

JAVA JUNK.—From Nieuhof.

First visit of the Company's ships to the continent of India.

with the *Hector*, which was thus the first vessel of the Company that anchored in a port of the continent of India; while Captain Keeling, in the *Dragon*, pursued the track taken by his predecessors, and after calling at Priaman in Sumatra, and taking in some pepper, passed the Straits of Sunda, and anchored in the road of Bantam on the 5th of October. It had been resolved that the *Dragon*, in consequence of her unsatisfactory condition, should forthwith be despatched to England with the cargo which had been procured; but before she sailed a vessel hove in sight, and proved to be the *Hector*. She had been rather unfortunate, for the Portuguese had attacked her, captured eighteen of her crew, including some of the factors, and seized her goods to the value of 9000 dollars. Captain Hawkins, however, had found the prospect of opening a trade at Surat so promising that he had preferred to remain ashore, and send forward the vessel under the command of his first officer. The arrangement was so far opportune that Captain Keeling, who, by the departure of the *Dragon*, might have been left without a command, immediately assumed the command of the *Hector*, and proceeded with her, on the 1st of January, 1609, for the Moluccas.

Dutch jealousy and hostility.

The Dutch were now carrying on their trade with great spirit, and made no secret of their determination, as soon as they should establish their supremacy in the Spice Islands, to exclude all others from trading to them. Captain Keeling, in his single vessel, found it impossible to resist their arbitrary proceedings, and was obliged to carry on a precarious trade under a kind of ignominious sufferance. He succeeded, however, in obtaining a cargo of pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, and, returning to Bantam, prepared for the homeward voyage. Before departing, he placed the factory there upon a more regular footing than before. The salaries allowed strikingly illustrate the economical and even sordid spirit in which the Company made their first arrangements. Augustine Spalding, the factor, received £50 a-year. The other officials were paid monthly, as follows:—Francis Kelly, surgeon, £2, 5*s.*; John Parsons, 30*s.*;

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A.D. 1609. Robert O'Neal, 29s.; Augustine Adwell, 24s.; Etheldred Lampre and William Driver, 20s. each; William Wilson, 22s.; William Lamwell and Philip Badnedg, 16s. each; Francisco Domingo, 12s.; Juan Seram and Adrian, 10s. each. The *Hector* reached the Downs in safety on the 9th of May, 1610. Before she arrived, two other voyages had been fitted out. The one, which is ranked as the fourth of the Company, had a subscription of £33,000, and was confined to two vessels, the *Ascension* and the *Union*. It proved a total loss, the former vessel having been cast away in the Gulf of Cambay while attempting to make for Surat; and the latter, after arriving in the East, and trading with some success at Acheen and Priaman, having been wrecked as she was returning in the Bay of Biscay. The other voyage, usually classed as the fifth of the Company, though properly only a branch of the third already described, was more fortunate. It consisted only of a single vessel, the *Expedition*, for which the subscription was £13,700. It sailed on the 24th of April, 1609, under the command of Captain David Middleton, who had previously made the successful voyage in the *Consent;* and after reaching Bantam on the 7th of December, continued onwards to the Moluccas, where, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, he managed, with considerable dexterity, to obtain a valuable cargo, and bring it safely home to England. This voyage, thrown into one account with the third, yielded the largest return which the Company had yet obtained, the clear profit on both voyages being no less than 234 per cent.

Subsequent voyages.

Obstacles to be surmounted.

The result of these experimental voyages made it impossible to doubt, that under the Company's charter a most lucrative trade might be established. There were, however, several formidable obstacles in the way. Among the Eastern islands the Dutch were attempting to establish a supremacy, under which they evidently meant to exclude all other nations from any share in the spice trade; while the Portuguese, by their conduct at Surat, had shown that before the English could hope to traffic with any port on the continent of India they must be prepared to repel force by force. In future, therefore, it would be necessary for the Company to carry on their operations on a larger scale, and employ vessels which, while mainly adapted for mercantile purposes, might at the same time be able to maintain their ground against any enemy that should presume to attack them. In order to accomplish this, additional subscriptions were required; but it was doubtful if these would be forthcoming so long as the conduct of the monarch left it doubtful whether he considered himself bound by the charter which his predecessor had granted. His conduct in giving a license to Sir Edward Michelborne justified suspicion; and it was therefore almost vain to hope that new risks would be run until assurance was given that he was prepared to recognize the validity of the charter by adopting it as his own personal deed. Accordingly, in 1609, when of course six years of the original fifteen were still unexpired, the Company succeeded in obtaining from King James a new charter so nearly identical in its terms with that of his predecessor that a

New charter by King James.

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A.D. 1610.

separate analysis of it is altogether superfluous. The only points deserving of notice are, that while the number of members specially named in Queen Elizabeth's charter amounted to 218, in that of King James it is increased to 276; that the provisions against interlopers are rendered more stringent, by an authority given to the Company to seize and confiscate the ships and goods of contraband traders in any places, whether within the British dominions or not, provided they be places where the "Company, their factors and ministers, shall trade and traffic by virtue of these our letters-patents;" and that the duration of the privileges of the charter, instead of being restricted to fifteen years, and a conditional renewal for other fifteen after the former should have expired, is made perpetual. This last clause loses much of its apparent importance by a subsequent provision, in which full power is reserved to the crown to recall the charter at any time "after three years' warning."

Increased subscription under new charter.

In the preamble to this charter, King James declared that he had found "by certain experience, that the continuance of the said Company and trade will not only be a very great honour to us, our heirs and successors, and to our realm and dominions, but also in many respects profitable unto us and our commonwealth." In this declaration, as well as in the provisions of the charter itself, there was certainly an additional security that the exclusive privileges of the Company would not be rashly infringed. To this it may have been partly owing that the subscription for the sixth voyage was the largest that had yet been made, amounting to £82,000. Three vessels were fitted out, one of them, the *Trade's Increase*, of 1000 tons burden; and the command was given to Sir Henry Middleton, who had made the second voyage. He set sail in the spring of 1610, arrived in Saldanha Bay on the 24th of July, and, after doubling the Cape, sailed northwards to the island of Socotra. It would seem that the Red Sea, and not India, was the original destination; for the commander, instead of continuing his course across the Indian Ocean, left the *Pepper-Corn*, the second largest of his vessels, at Aden, and then steered for Mocha, where he was induced to believe a ready market would be found for all his merchandise. At Aden he had been unable to procure a pilot, and had ventured for some distance within the Straits of Babelmandeb without one. At last two Arabs came aboard, professing great skill in navigation. Having been intrusted with the pilotage, they ran the *Trade's Increase* on a sandbank shortly after the town of Mocha had been descried. The subsequent proceedings leave little doubt that it was wilfully done.

Proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton.

Sir Henry Middleton seems to have been little qualified for his command. When the ship could not be got off, the most valuable part of her cargo was sent ashore with the view of lightening her. He afterwards landed with many of his people without taking any precautions for safety, and, as soon as the Arabs had completed their treacherous preparations, found himself a prisoner in their hands. Ultimately, after losing many of his men and remaining a

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A.D. 1611.

considerable time in captivity, he obtained his release, recovered his ships, and sailed for Surat, the road of which was reached on the 26th of September, 1611. Here he found a Portuguese squadron, consisting of seven frigates lying outside, and of thirteen smaller vessels inside the bar. They had heard of his arrival in the Red Sea, and, though the English were not then at war with Portugal, now made him aware that they disputed his right to trade at Surat, and would not even allow him to communicate with the Englishmen who had been left there by Captain Hawkins. This arbitrary proceeding the Portuguese admiral justified on the ground that he was invested with the office of captain-major, an office which made him guardian of all the ports in the north of India, and warranted him in seizing all vessels which presumed to trade with any of them without his *carta* or permit. Arrogant as this claim appears, it is not to be denied that the possession of it by the Portuguese had long been recognized even by the native courts; and that therefore the captain-major, whose income was chiefly derived from the fees paid for these permits, had, if not justice, at least prescription on his side, when he insisted that the English vessels should retire if they could not produce a letter from the King of Spain, or his viceroy at Goa, authorizing them to trade. The peace existing at this time between Spain, Portugal, and England, so far from weakening rather strengthened the captain-major's claim, because the charter of the Company expressly prohibited them from encroaching on the rights actually possessed by friendly European powers. On the other hand, it may be argued that the prohibitory clause in the charter applied only to the actual possession of *places*, and never could have been meant to recognize a right which, pushed to its extreme, would have warranted the Portuguese in excluding all other nations from traffic with any part of the continent of India. Such a right would have made the Company's charter little better than waste paper; and we cannot therefore wonder that Sir Henry Middleton at once declared his determination not to recognize it.

Arrogant claims of the Portuguese.

Reply to the captain-major.

In the correspondence which ensued he told the captain-major that he had been sent by the King of England with a letter and rich present to the Great Mogul, in order to establish the trade which his countrymen had already commenced; and that, as India was a country free to all nations, and neither the Mogul nor his people were under vassalage, he was determined to persevere, at all hazards, and, if necessary, to repel force by force. When he gave this answer he was in the belief that an extensive and lucrative trade had been, or was about to be established by the Company at Surat, but the information which he shortly after received convinced him that, for the present, all idea of establishing such a trade must be abandoned.

Captain Hawkins visits the court of the Great Mogul.

It has been already mentioned that Captain Hawkins, who commanded the *Hector* in the Company's third voyage, had, on arriving at Surat, found the prospect so flattering that he gave up the command to his first officer, and,

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ordering the vessel to proceed for Bantam, resolved to remain for the purpose of establishing a factory. He had brought a letter from the King of England to the Great Mogul, and believed he could not do better than proceed to Agra and deliver it in person. The character in which he proceeded was somewhat ambiguous; for though he speaks of himself as an ambassador, he does not seem to have been furnished with his powers. His credentials, however, were deemed sufficient; and his reception at court was so gracious that he was soon regarded as one of its leading favourites. The reigning Mogul at this time was Selim, the eldest son of the great Akber, whose latter days had been so embittered by his misconduct that he had made an ineffectual attempt to disinherit him. On mounting the throne in 1605, Selim had assumed the pompous title of Jehangir, or Conqueror of the World, but did nothing to justify it. He was, in fact, a capricious tyrant, of low, dissolute habits, who owed his continued possession of the crown, not to any talent or virtue in himself, but to the respect entertained for his father's memory, and the good order which, during his long reign, had been established in every part of the empire. A.D. 1609.

Hawkins becomes resident at the Mogul court.

Hawkins, who must have had some previous knowledge of the Mogul's character, and could not have been long at court without obtaining a thorough insight into it, ought to have been upon his guard; but, elated with the familiarity to which he was admitted, he deluded himself with the idea that he was about to make his fortune. Not long after his arrival, which took place 16th April, 1609, Jehangir, after promising to grant all the privileges of trade which he asked for the Company, proposed that he should remain permanently with him, as the English representative, at a salary which was to begin at £3200 and increase yearly. The bait was tempting, and Hawkins at once swallowed it. His motives are best explained by himself in a letter addressed to his employers. "I, trusting upon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my nation and myselfe, being dispossessed of the benefit which I should have reaped, if I had gone to Bantam, and that after halfe a doozen of yeeres, your worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time I should feather my neast and do you service; and further, perceiving great injuries offered us, by reason the king is so farre from the ports, for all which causes above specified, I did not think it amiss to yield unto his request."

When he had thus yielded, he began to feel some of the inconveniences of court favour. Being regarded as a mere upstart, his elevation gave umbrage to many of the nobility, while several Portuguese Jesuits, who possessed considerable influence at Agra, intrigued with the greatest zeal and perseverance for the purpose of defeating the great object of his mission. In these intrigues they were so unscrupulous that Hawkins thought he had sufficient proof of a conspiracy to poison him. Being still high in favour, he stated his fears to Jehangir, who proposed a rather curious remedy. "The king," he says, "was very earnest with me to take a white mayden out of his palace," promising that

Accepts a wife from the Mogul.

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A.D. 1609.

he "would give her all things necessary, with slaves," that "shee should turne Christian," and "by this meanes my meates and drinkes should be looked into by them, and I should live without feare." Hawkins objected to the maiden proposed, "in regard she was a Moore," but he added, "if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it." Jehangir took him at his word, and produced the orphan daughter of an Armenian Christian, a captain who had been highly esteemed by Akber. "I little thought," says Hawkins, "a Christian's daughter could bee found;" but now, "I seeing she was of so honest a descent, having passed my word to the king, could not withstand my fortunes. Wherefore I tooke her; and for want of a minister, before Christian witnesses I marryed her: the priest was my man Nicholas, which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee shewing mee the error, I was newly marryed againe: so ever after I lived content and without feare, shee being willing to goe where I went, and live as I lived."

Ultimate treatment of Hawkins.

This marriage, though entered into under unpromising circumstances, appears to have proved happy. If so, it was the only good thing which Captain Hawkins obtained at Agra. Instead of being able, as he had hoped, to feather his nest, he ultimately found that he had only been building castles in the air. The salary promised him was never paid; and courtiers, bribed by the Portuguese, having succeeded in convincing Jehangir that a breach with them would prove more pernicious than a league with the English promised to be beneficial, the fickle and unprincipled monarch cancelled all the promises he had made of conferring commercial privileges on the English, and left Hawkins to find his way to the coast as he best could.

Return of Sir Henry Middleton to the Red Sea.

Such was the information which made Sir Henry Middleton despair of being able to establish a factory at Surat. If he had continued to have any doubts on the subject, they would have been dissipated by the natives themselves, who, while they assured him of their anxiety to trade, confessed that so long as the Portuguese retained their ascendency, they durst not venture to incur their displeasure. Their advice therefore was, that the English vessels should quit Surat for the port of Gogo, in the Gulf of Cambay, where, it was said, the Portuguese would be less likely to interfere. Sir Henry Middleton had another plan in view; and, after succeeding in taking on board Captain Hawkins and his wife, who had arrived from Agra, and the Englishmen who had been left at Surat, called a council for the purpose of determining their future course. At this council, says Sir Henry, "I propounded whether it were best to goe from hence directly for Priaman, Bantam, &c., or to returne to the Red Sea, there to meete with such Indian shippes as should be bound thither; and for that they would not deale with us at their owne doores, wee having come so far with commodities fitting their countrie, nowhere else in India vendable, I thought we should doe ourselves some right, and them no wrong, to cause them barter with

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A.D. 1611.

us—wee to take their indicoes and other goods of theirs as they were worth, and they to take ours in lieu thereof." The latter proposal, though carrying injustice and spoliation on the very face of it, was unanimously preferred by the council; and the ships of a Company, invested by the crown with exclusive privileges for the purpose of carrying on a legitimate trade, deliberately set out on a marauding expedition which virtually made every man connected with it a pirate.

Violent proceedings.

While Sir Henry Middleton was thus detaining and rifling all the vessels from India which were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, other three vessels—the *Clove*, *Hector*, and *Thomas*—fitted out under the auspices of the Company, sailed from England on the 18th of April, 1611, under the command of Captain John Saris. Like those which Sir Henry commanded, their first destination was the Red Sea. As a means of securing a favourable reception at the different ports with which trade might be attempted, a firman or pass had been obtained from the sultan at Constantinople, by the intervention of the English ambassador there. In this document, addressed to all the "great viceroys and beglerbegs who are on the way (both by sea and land), from my most happy and imperial throne, to the confines of the East Indies," they are strictly enjoined "kindly and courteously to entertain and receive the merchants and subjects of Great Britain, coming or passing through or by any of our dominions, with a view to trade to the territories of Yemen, Aden, and Mocha, and the parts adjoining, by assisting and relieving them with all things necessary for themselves, their men, and ships;" and, in general, by yielding unto them "such offices of benevolence and humanity as shall be meet and convenient to be yielded unto honest men and strangers undertaking so long and painful a voyage."

Captain Saris arrives with a Turkish firman.

Mocha, from the North.—From Capt. C. F. Head's Eastern and Egyptian Scenery.

Fortified with this recommendation, Captain Saris had anticipated little difficulty in opening a traffic with the subjects of the sultan in the Red Sea, and was therefore mortified when, on arriving at the island of Socotra, he received a letter which had been left by Sir Henry Middleton, acquainting him with his proceedings and warning him against Turkish treachery. Though his hopes of peaceful trade were now faint, he determined to test the efficacy of his

His disappointment, and league with Middleton.

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A.D. 1611. firman, and with that view sailed directly for Mocha. His reception was encouraging; and, by judicious management and the exercise of forbearance, past jealousies and fears might have been forgotten; but there seems to have been little sincerity on either side, and Saris, on meeting with some obstructions, hastily quitted the port and returned to the Straits of Babelmandeb. Here he found Sir Henry Middleton engaged in pillaging, and instead of repudiating his proceedings, was tempted to become a sharer in them. Sir Henry's account of the unworthy compact for "romaging the Indian ships" is as follows:—"At last we agreed and sealed it in writings interchangeable, that he should have one-third part of what should be taken, paying for the same as I did, for the service of his three ships in the action: leaving the disposing of the ships afterward to me, who had sustayned the wrongs."

Compact for "romaging the Indian ships."

When, by means of these violent proceedings, flimsily disguised under the name of barter, the depredators had possessed themselves of a sufficient quantity of Surat cloths and other Indian goods, for which a ready market could be found in the Eastern Archipelago, they set sail in that direction. Sir Henry Middleton was again unfortunate; and after learning that the *Trade's Increase*, which he had ordered to follow while he went forward with the *Pepper-Corn*, had been wrecked on a coral reef, died broken-hearted at the isle of Machian, one of the Moluccas. Captain Saris, after spending some time in the same group, sailed for the isles of Japan, where the Company had resolved to establish a factory. On the 11th of June, 1613, he cast anchor near Firando. Though he found the Dutch already installed, and disposed, not only to watch, but to thwart his proceedings, a letter from the King of England, and a valuable present to the emperor, procured him a favourable reception, and he had little difficulty in making arrangements for permanent trade. The voyage commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, notwithstanding the loss of the *Trade's Increase*, yielded 121 per cent.; that by Captain Saris, 218 per cent. But it is evident, from the above account of their proceedings, that these returns have no title whatever to be classed, as they usually are, under the head of mercantile profits.

Voyage of Saris to Japan.

Voyage of Captain Hippon.

About the same time when Captain Saris set out on his voyage, a single vessel, the *Globe*, had been despatched from England, under the command of Captain Anthony Hippon. Her course, differing considerably from that which had hitherto been followed, deserves to be traced. After touching at the Point-de-Galle, on the island of Ceylon, the *Globe*, instead of proceeding directly to Bantam, turned northward into the Bay of Bengal, and followed the line of the Coromandel coast, which was thus visited by a Company ship for the first time, though it had long before been frequented by both the Portuguese and Dutch. On arriving at Pulicat, Captain Hippon, with the sanction of the native authorities, sent some of his people ashore, and was making arrangements for trade when the president of the Dutch factory, producing a document said to have been executed by the King of Golconda, and conferring the exclusive

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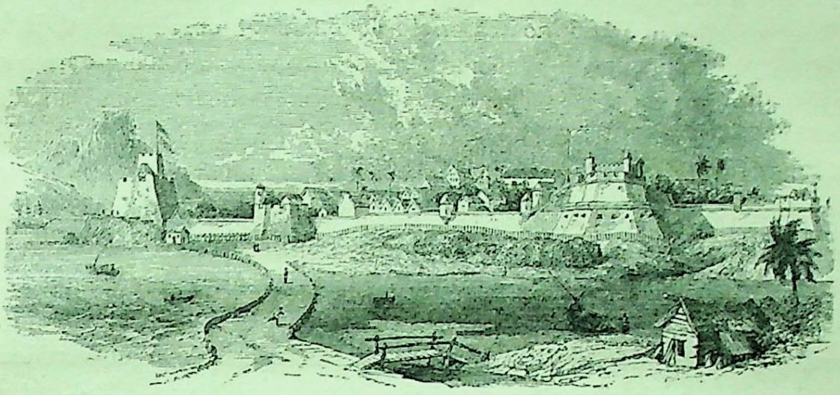
privilege of trade on those who had received Prince Maurice's permit, peremptorily ordered them to depart. Captain Hippon, though little disposed to yield obedience to this arrogant mandate, was not in a condition to dispute it, more A.D. 1612.



POINT-DE-GALLE.—From Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

especially as he was anxious to take advantage of the approaching monsoon. He therefore proceeded north as far as Masulipatam, leaving some of his people as the nucleus of a factory at Petapoli, situated on the coast at some distance south of that town, and then shaped his course for Bantam, which was reached on the 26th of April, 1612. From Bantam the *Globe* proceeded first to Patany, on the east coast of the peninsula of Malacca, and then to Siam, establishing factories at both. On the homeward voyage Masulipatam and Pulicat were again visited. In this way, though in very humble beginnings, a foundation was laid for that intercourse with the Bay of Bengal which was afterwards to be so largely developed, and to yield such magnificent results.

Limited progress made by the Company.

The efforts of the Company, which had hitherto been of an experimental and very desultory character, had certainly done little to justify their title to a charter which invested them with the exclusive privilege of trading in nearly three quarters of the globe. In the Eastern isles, to which they had at first resorted, they were completely overborne by the Dutch, and were barely able to maintain a precarious existence; in the Red Sea, in which, without any great temptation, they had rather invidiously endeavoured to carry off a share of the traffic which properly belonged to the Turkey Company, they had not only failed, but recklessly damaged their mercantile character by exhibiting themselves as lawless depredators; and on the whole continent of India there was not a single port at which they had obtained a permanent footing. Had Queen Elizabeth been spared to reign, the affairs of the Company would in all probability have presented a very different appearance. She had expected, in granting the charter, that the Company would at least rival, if not outstrip the Dutch; and, before the result of the first voyage was known, had, in a letter from which we have already quoted, upbraided the directors with their sluggishness in not

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A.D. 1612. preparing for a second. Such being her feelings, she would doubtless have insisted that the Company should either carry on their operations on a grander scale, or resign their exclusive privileges. Had they chosen the former alternative, she would have backed them with all the power of her government, and they would have had no reason to complain of unredressed injuries by Dutch or Portuguese. Very different was the conduct of King James, whose pusillanimity only encouraged aggression, and left the Company unaided to battle with their formidable opponents. To this cause, doubtless, is mainly to be ascribed the unsatisfactory progress which the Company had yet made. In almost every port which they visited, they found European rivals prepared to undermine them by intrigue, or crush them by open violence.

Voyage of Captain Best.

The course which the Company ought to have taken in such circumstances is very obvious, though it was long before they summoned courage to adopt it. Instead of sending out a few straggling vessels, which were unprovided with the means of repelling insult and outrage, they should have fitted out a fleet, and armed it fully with all the munitions of war. Some such resolution appears to have been adopted in preparing for the eighth voyage, which consisted of the *Dragon* and *Hoseander*, or *Osiander*, afterwards joined by the *James* and *Solomon*, and was commanded by Captain Thomas Best. The two first vessels sailed from Gravesend on the 1st of February, 1612, and arrived in the *Swally* or road of Surat in the beginning of September. Notwithstanding the discouraging account given by Captain Hawkins, little difficulty was found in opening a communication with the town; and Mr. Kerridge, who appears to have been a factor in the *Osiander*, was soon able to put Captain Best in possession of a sealed certificate giving the English authority to trade. As it wanted some of the requisite formalities, some doubts were entertained of its validity, and before these were solved the Portuguese again made their appearance. Besides an immense fleet of merchantmen, numbering 200 sail, and giving a striking idea of the extent of trade which the Portuguese must then have carried on with the north coast of India, there were four war galleons, which had come with the avowed determination of expelling the English. Captain Best was well prepared for them, and deeming it unnecessary to wait till he was attacked, at once assumed the offensive. On the 29th of November, placing himself in the *Dragon*, about two cables' length from the Portuguese vice-admiral, the depth of water not allowing him to go nearer, "I began," he says, "to play upon him with both great and small shot, that by an houre we had well peppered him.' The following day the fight was renewed, and with still more success on the part of the English, who again defeated the Portuguese, and drove "three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat." These having again been got off, the Portuguese attempted repeatedly to repair their disgrace, but always with the same result.

His spirited proceedings.

The success which the English had thus gained over a superior force, proved

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far more effectual than their previous attempts at negotiation, and Jehangir, becoming as anxious to secure their alliance as he had previously been indifferent or averse to it, entered into a treaty in regular form. The principal clauses in this treaty were:—That the English should have full freedom of trade in his dominions; that their persons, while ashore, should be protected from the Portuguese; that their imports should pay only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as customs; that in cases of death no fees should be demanded, and the goods of the deceased should be delivered up to the first English ships which might subsequently arrive; that in cases of wrong, redress should be speedily obtained; and that an English ambassador should be received, and permitted to reside at the Mogul court. This important treaty was finally delivered, with much formality, to Captain Best at Swally, on the 6th of February, 1613.

A.D. 1615.

Best's treaty with the Mogul.

A great object had now been gained. The Portuguese claim to control the trade had been expressly disowned by the Great Mogul himself, and a permanent footing had been secured in several large commercial emporiums, where considerable sales of English goods could be made on favourable terms, and an unlimited supply obtained of the goods best fitted both for the home market and for barter against the spices of the Indian Archipelago. The affairs of the Company thus assumed a more promising appearance than they had ever presented before, and capital for future investments began to flow into their coffers. It was scarcely possible that, in these circumstances, the desultory mode of management hitherto pursued could be continued; and in the determination announced by the directors to abandon the system of separate adventures, and trade in future on a joint stock, we see nothing more than a necessary result of their altered and improved position.

The Company resolve to trade only on a joint stock

The resolution to trade in future on a joint stock, under the immediate management of the Company, must have been favourably received, as a sum of £429,000 was raised for the purpose, and apportioned in fitting out four voyages, which were to sail successively in the years 1613, 1614, 1615, and 1616. The fleets were larger than had been previously employed: the first two consisting of eight vessels each, the third of six, and the fourth of seven. The voyages themselves possess little interest; but the results, though not so extravagant as when they were swelled by the spoliation of native ships, were on the whole satisfactory, as the average return of profit was $87\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The most important incidents which occurred during the performance of these voyages were—a new encounter with the Portuguese in the road of Swally, in January, 1615, when a large fleet, under the command of the Viceroy of Goa in person, having wantonly attacked the English, was signally defeated, with the loss of 350 men; a declaration of war between the Portuguese and the Great Mogul, and a consequent strengthening of the English alliance with the latter; and the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, invested with full powers to act as ambassador from the King of England.

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A.D. 1615

This embassy, undertaken in accordance with one of the stipulations in the treaty above mentioned, had the interest of the Company mainly for its object, and was therefore maintained entirely at their expense. Sir Thomas Roe arrived in the end of 1615, and continued to be a resident at the Mogul court till the end of 1618. Though his recognized character, and the judicious manner in which he acted, gave him much more influence than Hawkins, it is impossible to read his journal without being satisfied that the Company, in employing an ambassador at all, had committed a blunder. Points of etiquette which his position as ambassador would not allow him to yield, were apt to bring him into collision with the Mogul himself, or the higher members of his court; and he gave it as his decided opinion, that as the object of his mission was only mercantile, a native agent duly authorized, and maintained at an expense of £100 a-year, would secure it better than ten ambassadors.

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.

While thus candidly condemning the policy which had made him ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe lost no opportunity of furthering the interests of the Company; and on several occasions, by counterworking intriguers, and obtaining redress of grievances, undoubtedly contributed to place the English trade on a stable footing, and prepare it for the larger development which it at last received. Still, it must be confessed that the most valuable service which he rendered, was in writing a journal which makes us intimately acquainted with all his transactions, and contains a most graphic description of Jehangir and his court. The subject has been already alluded to when mentioning the adventures of Captain Hawkins; but the information of the journal, as well as that derived from other sources, will justify some additional details.

Character of Jehangir.

Jehangir, after succeeding his father in 1605, made great professions of moderation, but his bad habits soon resumed their ascendency; and in the second year of his reign, on the suppression of a rebellion, headed by his eldest son Khosroo, who claimed the throne as the nominee of his grandfather Akber, he gave full scope to his ferocity, by ordering 700 of the captured rebels to be impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore. In the sixth year of his reign (1611), he contracted a marriage with Nur Jehan, a celebrated beauty, whose husband had perished in defending his honour against Jehangir's intrigues. This event gave a colour to his future reign. Her ascendency over him was unbounded, and was employed by her less unworthily than might have been anticipated. In early life he had become excessively addicted to wine and opium, and while Hawkins resided at his court, was so completely enslaved by this vicious habit, that his daily routine is described as follows:—"His prayers being ended, foure or five sortes of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which, as he pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then he cometh forthe into a private roome, where none can come but such as himself nominateth. In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the physicians alot

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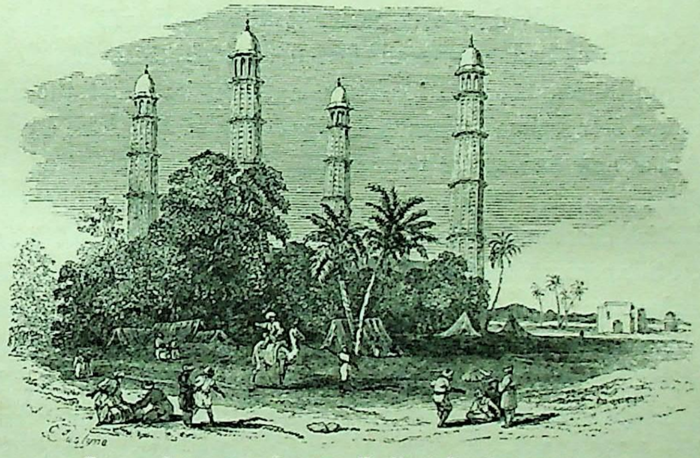
him. This done he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth him downe to sleep, every man departing to his owne home; and after he hath slept two houres, they awake him and bring his supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe, but it is thruste into his mouth by others; and this is about one of the clocke, and then he sleepeth the rest of the night." A.D. 1627.

Disorders under the government of Jehangir.

The government of such a disgusting drunkard could not be well conducted; and though the administrative talents of his wife, Nur Jehan, and the military prowess of his son, Prince Khurram, afterwards better known by his title of Shah Jehan, prevented the confusion which must otherwise have taken place, the court was a scene of constant intrigue, and corruption was rampant in every branch of the public service. Such was the state of matters when Sir Thomas Roe arrived. On first landing at Surat, he found the governor enriching himself by seizing the goods of merchants, and insisting on their being sold to him at prices of his own fixing. On advancing into the interior, he was everywhere struck with signs of devastation and neglect; and on his reaching the court, though he could not but be struck with the magnificence which surrounded the monarch, as he sat on his throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, his admission to the drinking parties above described, when, with the exception of himself and a few grave personages, scarcely an individual remained sober, soon convinced him how little dependence could be placed on any arrangements that could be made with one who was so little master of himself.

Jehangir's death.

Even at the time of Sir Thomas Roe's residence, Jehangir's sons, convinced that his drunken habits must speedily terminate his life, had begun to intrigue for the succession; and yet, such was the strength of his constitution, that his reign was prolonged for other ten years, and did not terminate till 1627. During part of this time, indeed, he could scarcely be said to possess the throne, as his sons were openly at war either with him or with each other; and the year before he died, he was some months a prisoner in the hands of one of his generals. On regaining his liberty, he set out on his annual visit to Cashmere, but had not long arrived before he was seized with a violent illness, and died on the way back to Lahore.



TOMB OF JEHANGIR AT LAHORE.—Hardinge's Recollections of India.

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CHAPTER II.

Progress of the Company's trade—Proceedings in the Persian Gulf—New joint stock—Arrangement with the Dutch—The council of defence—The massacre of Amboyna.

BY the treaty with the Great Mogul, the Company had not only gained full access to the continent of India, but been enabled to arrange a regular course of interchanges, from which a great increase of mercantile profits was anticipated. At Surat, though the sales of English imports were limited, reasonable purchases could be made of the cloths and other goods which were in great demand at Bantam and other stations established in the Indian Archipelago, and could, in consequence, be advantageously exchanged against pepper and other spices, which were at first regarded as the most important staples of the Eastern trade. With the view of extending these exchanges, other stations along the coast of India were gradually adopted, and the vessels of the Company began regularly to frequent all the leading ports both on the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts, and still further north to the mouths of the Ganges.

A.D. 1617.

Extension of Company's trade.

Their dealings in Persia.

The ample scope for traffic thus afforded was more than sufficient to give full employment for all the capital which the Company had yet been able to raise; but their ambition appears always to have been larger than their means, and they resolved to turn their attention to Persia. An important trade with this country had long been carried on by the Levant Company, but war had begun to rage between the Turks and Persians, and the usual channel of intercourse being thus interrupted, it was resolved to take advantage of the circumstance, and endeavour permanently to transfer the trade from the Levant to the Persian Gulf. The attempt thus to interfere with the monopoly of another British chartered company was rather ungenerous; and it may have been partly on this account that Sir Thomas Roe not only decidedly disapproved of it, but endeavoured, on his own responsibility, to prevent it from being carried into effect. The flattering representations of the factors of Surat, however, prevailed; and a vessel was despatched to the port of Jask, situated a little east of the entrance of the Persian Gulf, with a small sum of money, and a cargo of English broadcloths, kerseys, lead, tin, iron, cutlery, &c., to be exchanged for Persian silks. The adventure proved successful; and ultimately a regular trade was established between the Persian Gulf, Surat, and Bantam.

Collision with the Portuguese.

It had been foreseen that this trade could not be established without coming into fierce collision with the Portuguese, who had long possessed it as an exclusive monopoly; but the signal successes which had been gained over them when

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A.D. 1617.

they attempted to prevent the establishment of an English factory at Surat, appear to have satisfied the Company and their agents that Portuguese hostility was rather to be courted than feared, as, in all probability, a rich harvest of prizes would be made. The event proved as had been anticipated. The Portuguese, now in a state of rapid decline, made pretensions, and endeavoured to support them by hostilities, which only led to their discomfiture, and they had the mortification of seeing the English not only secured in their trade, but in high favour at the Persian court, and formally leagued with its monarch in an offensive and defensive alliance.

ARMS OF EAST INDIA COMPANY, cir. 1600 50.
From Minute Books of the Company.

The favourable aspect which the affairs of the Company now bore had a visible effect in filling up the subscription to a new joint stock, which started in 1617-18, with the large capital of £1,600,000. At this time the number of proprietors of stock amounted to 954, and the number of ships possessed by them is stated at thirty-six, of 100 to 1000 tons burden. The capital subscribed was allotted to three voyages, the first consisting of nine, and each of the other two of eight ships. Before the last of these voyages was undertaken, a remarkable change took place in the arrangements of the Company.

A new joint-stock company.

In the Eastern islands the Dutch not only claimed supremacy, but had actually established it. They had, however, tacitly acknowledged the Company's right of traffic, at least to a limited extent, and nutmegs, mace, and cloves formed part of the usual returns imported from the East into England. The larger scale on which the Company's operations were now about to be carried on having afforded the Dutch a pretext for interfering, they plainly intimated their determination to reserve the trade in the finer spices as an exclusive monopoly. They rested their claim on the fact that they had conquered the Spice Islands from the Portuguese, and being in actual possession of them, had a right recognized by the very charter of the London East India Company to debar all other parties from frequenting them. So satisfied were they with the validity of this claim, that, instead of regarding themselves as unlawful aggressors in the violent steps which they had taken to exclude the English, they assumed the character of complainers, and in 1618 presented a memorial to King James, in which, after stating what they called their grievances, they prayed for redress of past, and a prohibition of future encroachments. The London East India Company told a very different tale; and after enumerating the various forms of obstruction and oppression to which they had been subjected in carrying on their trade at Bantam, where their right of factory could not be disputed, and in endeavouring to extend it to islands over which the Dutch could not pretend to have established any exclusive authority, they

Opposition from the Dutch.

Mutual complaints.

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A.D. 1619. besought the king to interfere in their behalf, and protect them against a violence which, though unprovoked, had become intolerable.

Formal arrangement with the Dutch. It was impossible that matters could remain as they were; but King James, in accordance with his usual policy, only temporized by engaging in a course of intricate and protracted negotiation. Ultimately, a kind of understanding was arrived at, and an agreement, acquiesced in by all parties, was formally concluded at London on the 7th of July, 1619. The leading stipulations were, that all excesses on either side should be forgiven; that the ships and property which had been seized should be mutually restored; that each nation should have the free privilege of trade to the East, without any limitation as to the capital which might be employed; that both companies should strive to diminish customs and other exactions, and regulate the market by purchasing at prices previously arranged by common agents; that, in sharing the purchases thus made, the pepper should be equally divided between the companies, but only a third of the finer spices should be apportioned to the English; that the forts actually built should remain with their present possessors, but that all future forts acquired in the Moluccas or elsewhere by the common industry or common force should be possessed and garrisoned jointly; and that attempts should be made at the common expense to establish trade in new places, and especially in China. In order to give effect to this treaty, which was to last for twenty years, a special machinery was obviously required. Accordingly, a "Council of Defence" was instituted. It consisted of eight members, four from each company; and to make the equality still more complete, the members of each company were to preside alternately. To this council large powers were committed. Twenty ships, furnished in equal portions by each company, were to be maintained for war purposes, and not permitted, except under special circumstances, to be employed in the transport of merchandise. These ships, and more if necessary, were to be placed under the immediate authority of the council of defence, which was empowered to distribute them at different stations, and provide for the maintenance of the sailors and soldiers employed, by handing over the proceeds of the dues and customs, particularly in the Moluccas, to the treasurers of the companies. When the vessels employed sustained damage by storm or similar misfortune, the loss was to be borne by the company to which they belonged; but when they suffered in the common cause, as in war, a different rule was to be observed, and reparation was to be made at the common expense. To prevent the disputes which might thus arise, each ship, when placed on the station, was to be valued, in order that, at any future time, the amount of deterioration produced during its employment on active service might be easily ascertained. All questions arising between the companies were to be settled by the council of defence, and in the event of their being equally divided, the sovereigns of the companies were to act as arbitrators.

The council of defence.

Had this treaty been honestly and candidly acted upon, it would not only

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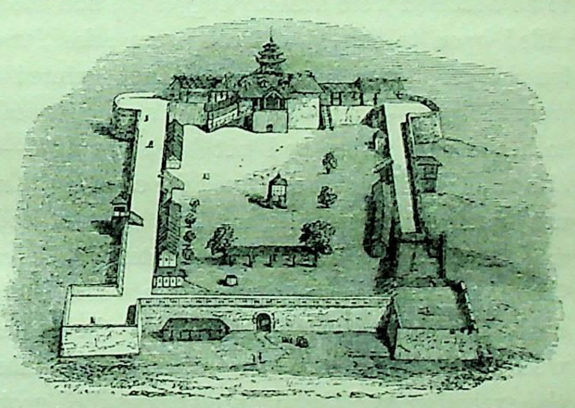
have given the Dutch and English a complete supremacy in the East, but provided equitably for their separate interests. The two-thirds of the finer spices allotted to the Dutch could scarcely be considered more than their exertions in rooting out the Spanish and Portuguese entitled them to expect; and the English, who saw themselves in danger of being excluded altogether, might have been satisfied when they were secured in a certain portion, which could not be diminished. The management, too, was fairly adjusted; and it is not easy to see how it was possible, under such a management, for one of the companies to overrule the other. Such, however, was the charge brought against their colleagues by the English, who complained that everything vague in the treaty was interpreted to their disadvantage, and that their funds were seized and appropriated to purposes in which they had no special interest. The truth seems to be, that though both companies professed to acquiesce in the treaty, neither of them was satisfied with it; and hence both, while eager to avail themselves of all the advantages which the treaty conferred, had no scruple in endeavouring to evade the obligations which it imposed. The Dutch, who believed that they could easily have driven their rivals out of the Molucca trade altogether, grumbled at being compelled to cede a whole third of it; while the English, who had never at any former period fitted out ten vessels on a single voyage for mercantile purposes, found it impossible to carry on their trade, while the larger portion of their capital was required to fit out vessels for war purposes only. The interest of the parties being thus apparently adverse, it is easy to understand how their former rivalry revived, and their enmity, instead of being suppressed, became more inveterate. This fact was soon to be demonstrated by a fearful tragedy.

A.D. 1623.

New quarrels.



CASTLE OF AMBOYNA.—Maps, &c., in Royal Library, British Museum.

In the island of Amboyna the English, under the authority of the treaty, had established a factory and several agencies. The whole power, however, was in the hands of the Dutch. The strong castle of Amboyna, which they possessed at the date of the treaty, remained under their own entire control; throughout the island they far outnumbered all other Europeans, and in its harbours were ships of war as well as merchant vessels, on whose assistance they could confidently calculate in any emergency. In such circumstances there was no external force from which they could seriously apprehend any danger; and yet, on the ground that a conspiracy had been formed for the

State of matters at Amboyna.

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A.D. 1623.

purpose of wresting the island from them, the Dutch authorities proceeded, in the name of law and justice, but in gross and manifest violation of both, to perpetrate an atrocity which has left a stain on the national character.

A massacre.

According to their own account, part of their garrison in the castle of Amboyna consisted of natives of Japan. One of these, having incurred suspicion by the minuteness of his inquiries as to the state and defences of the place, was apprehended, and on examination divulged a plot, into which other eight of his countrymen and the English in the service of the London East India Company had entered, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Amboyna, and thereby making themselves masters of the island. The Japanese, whose names their countryman had mentioned while under torture, were first apprehended, and being subjected to the same horrible process, not only confessed their own guilt, but implicated the leading members of the English factory. After a short interval the English thus denounced were seized; and, partly under the terror of being tortured, and partly under the actual application of it, confirmed the statements of the Japanese. On the evidence thus extorted, a conviction was obtained; and sentence of death was not only pronounced, but actually inflicted on nine natives of Japan, one Portuguese, and twelve Englishmen. Among the last were Captain Gabriel Towerson, the English agent at Amboyna, and several of his factors and assistants.

Confession obtained by torture.

In endeavouring to defend this proceeding, the Dutch dwell particularly on the uniformity of the confession made by the unhappy sufferers; but they omit to mention that, at the time when torture was inflicted, the answers desired to be obtained were actually suggested, and the accused, instead of being simply called upon to state the truth, were asked, while writhing in agony or threatened with it, whether they had not entered into the plot with which they were charged—whether such and such proposals had not been made—whether such and such plans had not been arranged—and whether a particular day, also named, had not been fixed for carrying them into execution. In this way, not by fair interrogatories, but by a series of leading questions, the answers were made to assume a degree of consistency well calculated to conceal or disguise the monstrous absurdities which the whole charge carried on the face of it. It ought also to be borne in mind, that the confessions which had been extorted were afterwards solemnly retracted in the interval between the sentence and the execution, and that all the victims died protesting their innocence.

Iniquity of the sentence.

Even admitting that the suspicion of some kind of plot was not altogether groundless, the extreme measures adopted by the Dutch authorities are utterly incapable of vindication. The danger, if it ever existed, vanished the moment it was discovered. Where, then, was the necessity of hurrying on the trial while the accused remained without the means of providing a proper defence; or of executing it, without allowing them the opportunity of bringing a sentence which they held to be iniquitous under review? The Council of Defence, to

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which all questions affecting the interests of the companies had been specially referred, was still in existence. Where was the danger of a delay which would have submitted the judgment to its revisal? These are questions which the Dutch have found it impossible to answer; and the bloody deed of Amboyna, perpetrated on the 27th of February, 1623, therefore remains to this day justly branded as a massacre. A.D. 1628.

Indignation in England.

When tidings of the massacre reached England, the public indignation was inflamed to such a pitch that all idea of amicable arrangement was abandoned; and even King James, forgetting his lethargic and mean-spirited policy, began to talk openly of war. He had even issued letters of reprisal, authorizing the injured parties to seek redress at their own hands, and seemed bent on measures still more decisive, when his inglorious career was brought to a close. The Dutch dexterously availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by a new reign to protract negotiations, and managed to spin out a series of years, making fair promises of giving redress, but always evading the performance of them. This crafty line of policy was only too successful, in consequence of the embarrassments in which Charles I. was soon involved. The seeds of a civil war had been thickly sown in England even during his father's lifetime; and all other questions became comparatively insignificant when once public attention began to be fixed on the great contest which was to decide the fate of the English monarchy.

Difficulties of the Company.

While this dispute was pending, the affairs of the Company were often at a very low ebb. In the Indian Archipelago, station after station was abandoned in order to escape from the oppression of the Dutch; and in various other quarters so many untoward events occurred, that the Company, unable to prosecute any regular system of trade, were obliged to rest satisfied with shifting expedients, sometimes successful, but oftener productive only of disappointment. Their stock in consequence, instead of commanding a premium, could with difficulty be sold at a considerable discount. It cannot be denied that, amidst these discouragements, much perseverance was displayed. Every opening for trade was eagerly embraced. When that with Persia threatened to prove unproductive, the Red Sea was again resorted to; and when misunderstandings with the Mogul endangered the factory at Surat, new stations were found on the opposite coast of the Indian peninsula. Here for some time the principal factory had its seat at Masulipatam; but the extortions of the governor having become intolerable, a new locality was obtained, in 1628, at Armegon, situated on the Coromandel coast about seventy miles north of Madras. The factory established at Armegon was substituted for that of Masulipatam, and is remarkable as the first station on the continent of India which the Company were permitted to fortify. The advantage which it thus possessed promised at one time to make it a great emporium; but the situation proved inconvenient, and the governor of Masulipatam, anxious to recover the revenue which he had lost

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A.D. 1631.

by the withdrawal of the Company's trade, offered terms so favourable, that they were again induced to make that port their principal station.

Protracted discussions with the Dutch.

During these transactions the Dutch question continued open, and many attempts were made, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, to obtain an equitable adjustment. In proportion, however, as the domestic difficulties of the king increased, the Dutch were emboldened to refuse redress; and the Company, losing patience, took the remarkable step of placing themselves in direct communication with parliament. Hitherto they had existed merely as creatures of the crown, and on several occasions had been made to feel how little dependence was to be placed on its countenance and support. King James, at the very commencement of his reign, virtually ignored Queen Elizabeth's charter, in the license by which he empowered Sir Edward Michelborne to trade within the prohibited limits; and on a subsequent occasion, even after he had made the charter his own by renewing and confirming it, he leagued with his worthless favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, in arresting the ships of the Company, for the purpose of extorting a share in the prize money which they were alleged to have gained when assisting the Persians against the Portuguese in the capture of Ormuz. As yet, King Charles had not been implicated in any overt attack on the privileges or interests of the Company; but the sluggish manner in which he urged their claim to redress for the injuries sustained from the Dutch must have satisfied them that, at the best, he was a very lukewarm friend. It is not surprising, therefore, that when, in 1628, the great struggle between the king and the parliament assumed a definite shape by the presentation of the celebrated Petition of Right, the Company, impatient of the interminable delays to which they had been subjected, took the bold step of withdrawing their case from the exclusive cognizance of the crown by bringing it directly under the notice of the legislature. Their memorial, prepared with this view, besides enumerating the hardships under which they laboured, founded their claims to public support on the benefits which they had, as a company, conferred on the nation. The question as to the expediency of the peculiar privileges which their charter conferred was thus fairly raised, and would doubtless have been fully discussed had not the parliament been suddenly dissolved before the memorial could be taken into consideration.

Application of the Company to parliament.

Proclamation by the crown.

The memorial, implying, as it obviously did, a censure on the dilatoriness of the crown, and amounting to what many regarded as an interference with the royal prerogative, must have been very offensive to the king; but more urgent concerns engrossed his attention, and he so far concealed his displeasure as not only to leave the chartered rights of the Company unimpaired, but occasionally to issue proclamations in their favour. One of these proclamations, dated 19th February, 1631, deals with an internal abuse, and gives a striking manifestation of the helpless, or at least desponding state into which the Company must have fallen before they deemed it necessary to seek the protection

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of the king against their own servants. The plan originally adopted of giving an interest in each voyage to all the persons employed in it had never been abandoned, and accordingly even common soldiers and sailors had been permitted to trade on their own account in certain specified articles. The quantity of space allowed to each for this private trade was a chest 4 feet long, 1½ foot wide, and 1½ foot deep. Under the cover of this permission, it appears that smuggling was carried on to such an extent as both to defraud the public revenue and diminish the Company's legitimate profits. The proclamation specially directed against this smuggling, "whereby the said Company's general affairs are of late much declined and decayed, and the adventurers therein much discouraged," intimates that in future greater vigilance will be exercised, and calls upon all officers to exert themselves to the utmost against those who, not satisfied with the specified amount of licensed traffic, and "the extraordinary great wages which they (the Company) are accustomed to pay in their employments," were ungratefully and ungenerously undermining their employers by "driving a secret underhand trade." The abuse thus denounced was surely one with which the Company themselves ought to have been fully prepared to deal, and it is almost piteous to see them virtually confessing their incompetency by calling in extraneous aid to assist them in their internal management. Even without the aid of government, it could not have been difficult to strike at the root of the evil by withdrawing the license which made its detection almost impossible, and declaring that in future all the servants of the Company would be paid by fixed salaries and wages. The very opposite course was adopted; and the proclamation, while denouncing the evil, proceeds very preposterously to increase it, by announcing that the license to carry on private trade, instead of being prohibited, would remain as before in the case of the lower classes of servants, and in the case of the higher classes would be extended, so as to give many of them double the quantity of private tonnage which had previously been allowed.

A.D. 1631.

Apparent helplessness of the Company.

It would have been strange if the Company, while proclaiming their own incompetency and sanctioning gross mismanagement, could have prospered even under favourable circumstances; and unfortunately at this very time a series of events took place which placed their affairs in great jeopardy. The Dutch had made good their footing at Surat, and greatly reduced the profits of the trade by a formidable competition. In the Persian Gulf, where, in addition to the ordinary profits of trade, the Company had obtained a permanent grant of half the customs levied at the port of Gomberoon, their position was endangered not only by a new succession to the throne, but by an attempt of the Portuguese to recapture Ormuz. In the Eastern Archipelago the spice trade had been almost extinguished, and the factory of Bantam, which, as it was the earliest, had long held precedence of all the other stations of the Company, became so unimportant as to be reduced to an agency dependent on Surat, which alone was

Continued difficulties.

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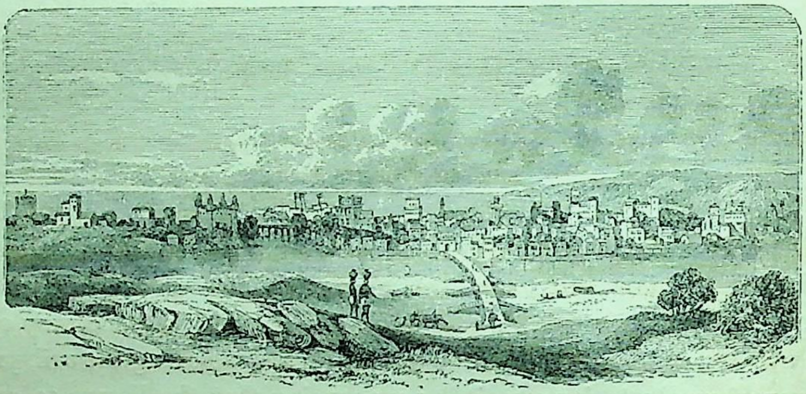
A.D. 1634

now governed by a president and council. While thus beset with difficulties, the trade of the Company was brought almost to a stand in India by the devastation of a large portion of the country by a famine, followed as usual by a pestilence; and in England by the state of ferment into which all minds were now thrown by the approaching civil broils.

Perseverance in obviating difficulties.

The best thing that can be said for the Company during this gloomy period is that they never abandoned themselves to despair, and even while losing ground, were always on the alert to take advantage of any favourable opening which might occur. In this way their success was often greater than they could have ventured to anticipate. The new Persian monarch, Shah Sophi, issued firmans reinstating them in all their former privileges, including the grant of the customs of Gomberoon, which, in 1632, yielded as the Company's share 550 tomands, a sum equal to £1650 sterling. In the same year the



General View of Masulipatam.—Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

factory at Masulipatam, which had been abandoned in consequence of the extortion and oppression of the governor, was re-established on favourable conditions by the express authority of the King of Golconda, to whom the territory belonged; while Armegon, though abandoned as a commercial emporium, acquired new importance from the additional strength given to its fortifications. A secure asylum was thus obtained within the Bay of Bengal, to which the attention of the Company was now more especially directed.

Foundation of the trade with Bengal.

During Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Great Mogul Jehangir, a firman had been obtained, in general terms authorizing the English to trade in Bengal. The importance of the permission thus granted appears not to have been appreciated, and no use had been made of it when Jehangir's reign terminated by his death in 1627. During the reign of his son Shah Jehan, whose favour the English generally enjoyed, the idea of a Bengal trade was revived; and in 1634 a firman was obtained, which threw the whole trade of the province open to the Company, subject to the restriction that their ships were to resort only to the port of Piply or Peipley. This place, situated on the Soobunreka ten

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A.D. 1635.

miles above its mouth, and within a short distance of the estuary of the Hooghly, had a very indifferent harbour, but possessed the important advantage of giving immediate access to a country of almost inexhaustible resources, with an immense industrial population, from whom an indefinite supply of the fine white cloths suited equally for the English, the Persian, and the south-eastern markets, might at all times be obtained. The prospect of a revival of trade seemed in consequence so promising, that new efforts were made; and Bantam, with the view of being again made a central emporium between the Indian peninsula and the Spice Islands, was once more restored to the dignity of a presidency. In the midst of this apparent success, an event took place by which the very existence of the Company was threatened.

CHAPTER III.

Truce with the Portuguese—Establishment of a rival company—Settlement with the Dutch—State of the Company under Cromwell.

Portuguese truce.

AS the contests carried on between the Company and the Portuguese had long been productive only of mischief to both, a mutual desire for arrangement was felt. While they were wasting their strength the Dutch were continuing their successful career, and threatening to involve them in a common ruin. In these circumstances little difficulty was found in opening a friendly communication with the Viceroy of Goa, and forming a truce which, if approved by their sovereigns, might afterwards be converted into a permanent treaty. Under this truce, which gave each of the contracting parties free access, for all commercial purposes, to the ports and factories of the other, the Company naturally anticipated a large extension of traffic, and had begun to make the necessary preparations with that view, when they were startled by the information that King Charles had granted license to a new body of mercantile adventurers, for the special purpose of appropriating the advantages which the truce was expected to confer.

A crown license granted to rival traders.

This extraordinary proceeding, which took place in 1635, was probably the result of a variety of causes. It may be that Charles, while he concealed his displeasure at the memorial which the Company presented to parliament in 1628, had never forgotten it, and was therefore not unwilling to avail himself of the first opportunity which offered to take his revenge. The very bitter terms in which the past conduct of the Company is stigmatized, certainly savours of vindictiveness. On different occasions his majesty had borne strong and willing

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A.D. 1635.

testimony to the honour and benefit which the Company had conferred on the nation at large, whereas the establishment of a rival association is now justified expressly on the ground that "in all this time, since the erection of the said East India Company, notwithstanding the manifold privileges granted to them, they had neither so settled and planted trade in those parts, nor made any such fortification or place of surety, as might give assurance or encouragement to any, in future times, to adventure to trade there; neither had we received any annual benefit from thence (as other princes did), by reason of the said Company's neglect in fortifying." They "had merely intended and pursued their own present profit and advantage, without providing any safety or settledness for establishing of traffick in the said Indies for the good of posterity, or for longer time than it should please the natives or inhabitants there to permit the continuance thereof." The conduct of the Company in this respect is contrasted with that of the Portuguese and Dutch, who "had planted and fortified themselves there, and established a lasting and hopeful trade there, for the good of posterity; and by advantage thereof had not only rendered our subjects abiding in those parts subject to their insolencies and apparent injuries, but, in a manner, wrought them out of trade there, which we found, not only by the complaint of divers of the adventurers in that society, but principally by the daily decrease of our customs for goods imported from thence, which we could impute to nothing more than the said Company's supine neglect of discovery and settling of trade in divers places in those parts where they had a plentiful stock, and fair opportunities to have compassed and effected it."

Charges against the Company:

Not wholly unfounded.

The charges thus lavishly brought against the Company were not wholly unfounded. They had commenced with experimental voyages, and shifted about from place to place, wandering over the whole extent of the Indian Ocean, from the Red Sea to the isle of Japan, without having secured a single station which they could call their own, and to which they could resort as a secure asylum in all emergencies. They thus existed merely by sufferance; and when attacked, succeeded only in a few rare instances in maintaining their ground. Their conduct in this respect was not dictated by motives of policy. Sir Thomas Roe, it is true, had cautioned them against the erection of forts, as incompatible with their prosperity as a mercantile company, and declared that "if the emperor would offer me ten I would not accept one." But the Company had never adopted this view, and would gladly have fortified if they had possessed the means. The great difficulty was in the want of funds, which at no time sufficed for more than to furnish the necessary investments. They were thus very much at the mercy both of native princes and European rivals; and when subjected to injustice, were obliged either to overlook it, or to confine themselves to clamorous and unavailing supplications for redress. Claiming an exclusive right to the commerce of more than half the globe, they were bound to have achieved for themselves a much more dignified position.

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A.D. 1635.

Admitting that the Company were thus far in fault, it does not follow that Charles was justified in the method which he took to supplant them. They were entitled, at all events, to a three years' notice, and therefore ought not to have been threatened with violent extinction before even a single note of warning had been given. The truth is, that Charles had now been brought into that unhappy position from which he thought himself entitled to seek relief by any means which promised to be successful, however much they might be at variance with honour and equity. He was engaged in the fatal experiment of attempting to rule without a parliament; and having thus excluded himself from the only means of obtaining money by legal taxation, was ready to snatch at any expedient for replenishing his treasury. There can be little doubt that the license granted to the rival adventurers, afterwards known by the name of "Courten's Association," was one of those expedients. The truce recently concluded with Portugal was represented as about to open up new sources of wealth, and the king, consulting only his necessities, was deluded into the belief that, by means of a new body of adventurers, a large and permanent addition might be made to his own revenue. Sir William Courten, a wealthy London merchant, had the principal share in the new company, and has hence given it its name. He had lent large sums both to the king and his father, and may possibly have cancelled part of the debt, or granted a new loan, in return for the royal license. It is plain, however, from the language employed, that Charles had more than an indirect interest in the success of Courten's association. He speaks of the first voyage as having been partly undertaken "at and by the charge and adventure of us, and of our trusty and faithful servant, Endymion Porter, Esq., one of the grooms of our bedchamber," and authorizes the ships, 'as an ensign that they were specially employed by us," to carry the "union flag which our own ships, and none but the ships employed in our particular service, ought to bear."

Courten's association.

SEAL.[1]

Remonstrance against it.

The old Company, naturally alarmed at the special favour thus shown to the new adventurers, and the open infringement of the exclusive privileges guaranteed to them by the charters of Queen Elizabeth and King James, presented an earnest remonstrance; but though they succeeded so far as to cause a new proclamation to be issued, in which the right of traffic conferred on the association was restricted to "such of those parts and places before named, where the said East India Company had not settled factories and trade before the 12th December, 1635," they were so far from gaining their main object, that the license, originally granted only for a single voyage, was extended to five years, and declared to stand good against all who might be disposed to challenge it, "any charters, letters-patents, grants of incorporations, or of any liberties, powers, jurisdictions, privileges of trade or traffick, or any act of parliament,

[1] Seal used by Sir William Courten's Association.—MS. vol. Peter Manday's Travels, in Lib. of E. I. House.

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A.D. 1635.

statute, ordinance, proclamation, provision or restriction, or other matter or thing whatsoever, to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding." The passage now quoted is curious, not only as evincing the king's determination strenuously to support the new association, but as displaying the extent to which he was prepared to stretch his prerogative, and to set at nought all the other powers of the state when they were supposed to interfere with any of his favourite projects.

Depressed state of the Company.

At the date of the second proclamation, the ships fitted out for the first voyage of the association were already at sea. When they arrived at Surat, the president and council, who had not previously been informed of the license which had been granted, were surprised above measure, and utterly at a loss how to proceed. They had been preparing to take advantage of the arrangement which had been made with the Portuguese, and had partly completed their investment with a view to it. Now, however, they found themselves forestalled, and virtually excluded from their most hopeful market. This disappointment was the more severely felt in consequence of the general stagnation of trade, which had been produced by the recent famine and pestilence; and also of a very violent proceeding on the part of the Mogul emperor, Shah Jehan, who, on learning that a vessel bearing his flag had been plundered by a pirate under English colours, had imprisoned the leading members of the Surat factory, and refused to release them till they engaged to pay a very heavy fine. Under these circumstances, trade was for a time almost entirely suspended. While thus overwhelmed by adversity, the Company had the additional dissatisfaction to learn that Courten's vessels had made a prosperous voyage, and arrived in England with cargoes which would yield the adventurers a very profitable return. In a letter addressed to their servants at Surat, the governor and Company thus express themselves:—"Wee could wish that wee could vindicate the reputacion of our nation in these partes, and do ourselves right for the losse and damage our estate in those partes have susteyned; but of all these wee must beare the burthen, and with patience sitt still, untill we may find these frowning tymes more auspicious to us and to our affayres."

Attempt to form a new joint stock.

For several subsequent years the Company remained in a very depressed state. At one time the rivalship of Courten's association, at another time the encroachments of the Dutch—who, no longer satisfied with their ascendency in the Eastern islands, were ambitious enough to aim at the establishment of it in all the leading ports of India—absorbed all their thoughts, and formed the subject of various petitions, in which they implored the government to interfere and save them from impending destruction. Their importunity at last obtained a favourable hearing; and the privy council recommended, as the most effectual remedy, that the license to Courten's association should be withdrawn, on the understanding that a new joint stock should be formed, on a scheme sufficiently large and liberal to promise a great extension of the trade.

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A.D. 1640.

In accordance with this recommendation, the Company proceeded to take the necessary steps, and issued a prospectus embodying the following proposals:—

Attempt to form a new joint stock.

1. That the subscription should be payable, by instalments, in four years; and that it should be left to the majority of the subscribers to determine in what manner, and by whom the business should be managed. 2. That the subscription should be open to all persons, as well foreigners as English, till the 1st of May, 1640. 3. That on all past due instalments $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month should be levied, as a fine, till payment. 4. That the minimum subscription should be, by an Englishman £500, and by a foreigner £1000. 5. That, in buying any share after the books were closed, an Englishman should pay £20 and a foreigner £40 for his freedom. 6. That the old Company, or adventurers in what was called the third joint stock, should be allowed sufficient time for bringing home their property, but be prohibited from sending any more stock to India on their former account.

Its failure.

The above terms are fair and reasonable, and, under ordinary circumstances, could hardly fail to have been eagerly and generally accepted; but troublous times were at hand, and few who possessed capital were inclined to expose it to the risks which it would necessarily run during the struggles of a civil war. When the date fixed for closing the books arrived, the whole amount subscribed was the paltry sum of £22,500. The proposed scheme having thus proved a complete failure, matters returned to their former state; and the Company were again left to fight their battle single-handed. While thus engaged, their course was checkered by prosperity as well as adversity. Under the former head, a first place must be assigned to the acquisition of a new locality on the Coromandel coast. This locality was the nucleus of what was destined to swell out into the presidency of Madras. The acquisition was made in 1640, on the most favourable terms, the *naik* or governor of the district volunteering to build a fort at his own expense, at which the English might settle and carry on their trade exempt from all customs. So satisfied was Mr. Day, a member of the factory of Masulipatam, who conducted the transaction with the naik, of the value of the offer which had been made, that he immediately undertook the erection of the fort, which, in honour of the naik's father, received the name of Chenappa-patan, or Chenna-patan, still applied to it by the natives, though Europeans from the first knew it only by the name of Fort St. George. The importance of this station soon became apparent; and the decisive step which Mr. Day took in at once commencing operations was most fortunate, as it afterwards appeared that the Company, if they had been previously consulted, would have withheld their sanction under a belief that the state of their funds did not justify the outlay. Another circumstance, which at this time had a favourable influence on the Company's prospects, was the overthrow of the Spanish rule in Portugal, which in consequence resumed its position as an independent kingdom. By this event, the friendly relations already existing between

First settlement at Madras.

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A.D. 1641.

England and Portugal were drawn closer; and the Dutch, having no longer any pretext for continuing hostilities against the latter, were obliged to withdraw the blockades, which, though nominally directed only against Portuguese ports, had inflicted serious injuries on the English East India trade.

Purchase of Company's pepper by the king.

Such were the leading events which at this time were favourable to the Company. They were, however, more than counterbalanced by the unfavourable state of affairs both at home and abroad, and more especially by a heavy pecuniary loss inflicted on them by the king, who, in order to relieve his necessities in 1641, fell upon the singular device of buying all the pepper in the Company's stores on credit, and selling it for ready money. The quantity of pepper was 607,252 bags, and the price agreed to be paid, at the rate of 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb., amounted to £63,283, 11*s.* 1*d.*; but the sales, made at the rate of 1*s.* 8*d.* per lb., realized only £50,626. The king thus sustained an apparent loss of above £12,000 by the speculation, but ultimately the Company were the sole sufferers. The bonds which they had received from the farmers of the customs remained unpaid; and the only sum which they appear to have received was £13,000, which they retained out of the customs due by them. Even this sum they were not allowed to retain without question, as parliament, now at open hostilities with the king, did not admit that the bonds which had been granted in payment of the pepper constituted an effectual burden on the public revenue.

During the Civil war the transactions of the Company remain almost a perfect blank. The collection of money for investments could not be openly announced without endangering their confiscation by one or other of the contending parties; and the vessels were fitted out and despatched with as much secrecy as if they had been engaged in an illicit traffic. Among the few facts of importance which may be gleaned from the history of this period, are the erection of a factory at Balasore, situated within the Mogul territories a little to the west of Piply, which had not realized the hopes at one time entertained of it; and a considerable extension of the trade of Madras, which, though still subordinate to Bantam, was rapidly outstripping it, and had already superseded Masulipatam as the principal factory of the Company on the Coromandel coast. For this prosperity Madras was mainly indebted to its fortifications, which not only gave security to the servants of the factory, but induced many of the native merchants and artisans to settle in the town and the adjoining district, where they could always be sure of finding protection in times of commotion. All these advantages had been obtained at a very trifling cost, for in 1645 the whole sum expended on Fort St. George was £2294, and the estimate was, that not more than an additional £2000 would be necessary to render it impregnable to any attack by native forces.

Factory erected at Balasore.

Courten's association, of which the Company had long complained as the worst thorn in their sides, after a short course of prosperity had rapidly

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declined. The same causes which depressed the Company must have affected them in a similar manner, but their misfortunes seem to have been far more owing to their own misconduct. After wandering about without any fixed plan, and committing depredations which subjected them to severe reprisals, they resolved in 1646 to establish a colony at St. Augustine's Bay, on the island of Madagascar. The project, injudicious in itself, was altogether beyond their means, and proved a failure. In order to relieve the embarrassments into which they were thus thrown they had recourse to fraud, and set up a mint, at which they coined counterfeit pagodas and rials. The cheat was soon discovered, and so seriously damaged their character that they afterwards found great difficulty in carrying on even a legitimate trade. Not long after this transaction, a proposal was made that the Company and the association should forget their quarrels and amalgamate. Had the Company been their own masters, they would never have entertained this proposal; but a complete change had taken place in the political state of the kingdom, and, in the general uncertainty which prevailed, it was dangerous to demur to any proposal which had the sanction of the dominant party. The king was now a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the cause of the parliament was everywhere triumphant. The Company, trembling for their charter, endeavoured to meet the threatened storm by proposing a new subscription, in which they made a curious effort at conciliation. In the prospectus issued, while the public generally were restricted to a certain day for filling up the lists, an exception was made in favour of members of parliament, for whom the period of closing was prolonged that they might have an opportunity to consider the subject, and to become subscribers. The device is said to have succeeded; and the plan obtained so much of the approbation of the commons, as to amount to a virtual recognition of the rights and privileges of the Company. Accordingly, the council of state—to which the questions at issue between the Company and Courten's association, which was now designated by the name of "The Assada Merchants," from their settlement on an island of that name near Madagascar, had been submitted—while declining to give any formal decision, strongly recommended an amalgamation.

A.D. 1646.

Proposal to amalgamate the association and the Company.

Device to gain the favour of parliament.

In accordance with this recommendation, various conferences were held between the managers of the two companies, and a union was finally arranged. The leading conditions were—That a stock of £300,000 should be subscribed within two months, to be paid by instalments in four years; that a valuation should be taken of all the houses, shipping, and goods belonging to the Company in India; that the settlers on the island of Assada should be allowed to trade direct to any ports of Asia, Africa, and America, but not to trade from port to port in India; that, on this continent, a fortified station should be fixed on for both companies; that all Indian goods, spices, &c., should be joint property; that salaries, both in England and India, should be reduced; and that, in the

Union between the association and the Company.

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A.D. 1652.

future management of the joint trade, a share of at least £500 should be necessary to give a vote. It was of importance to obtain legislative sanction to this arrangement, and a petition to that effect was immediately presented to the House of Commons. It was taken into consideration on the 31st January, 1650; but though the Company appear to have hoped for a distinct confirmation of their exclusive privileges, the utmost they could obtain was the cautiously worded resolution, "That the trade to the East Indies should be carried on by one company, and with one joint stock, the management thereof to be under such regulations as the parliament should think fit; and that the East India Company should proceed upon the articles of agreement made between them and the Assada merchants on the 21st November, 1649, till further orders from the parliament."

Petition to parliament against the Dutch.

Whatever may have been the political predilections of individual members of the Company, they appear, as a body, to have been easily reconciled to the constitutional changes which followed the execution of the king; and, on the 14th of November, 1650, presented a petition, addressed, in the language and spirit of the times, to "the supreme authority of the nation, the high court of the Parliament of England." The great burden of the petition was the old complaint of ill usage from the Dutch, from whom redress, though hitherto asked in vain "from the late king and his council, was now confidently anticipated." At this time the new government was evidently preparing for a rupture with the Dutch; and hence, as the petition was opportune, it met with such a favourable reception, that on the very day on which it was presented parliament adopted a resolution referring it to the consideration of the council of state. That the impression already made might not be permitted to die away, the Company endeavoured to keep their case before the view of the council by a series of memorials. In the first of these, dated 9th May, 1651, after referring to their petition, they renewed their grounds of complaint against the Dutch, and drew up a list of their losses, which they estimated at £1,681,996, 15*s.* This was exclusive of interest, which it was alleged would amount to a larger sum than the principal. In a second memorial, presented in June, when the probability of a Dutch war was stronger than ever, they expressed their apprehensions for the safety of their homeward bound fleet, consisting of five ships laden with valuable cargoes, and particularly with saltpetre for the use of government; and prayed that ships of war might be stationed off the Land's End for the purpose of conducting their fleet in safety into the Downs. In a third memorial, following close upon the other, they took the bolder step of praying that powers might be given, under the great seal of England, to their presidents and councils in India, to enforce obedience on all Englishmen within their jurisdiction, and to punish offenders conformably to the laws of England. On the 29th of January, 1652, they again importuned the council on the subject of their claims, because, knowing that ambassadors

Second memorial presented.

Third memorial.

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from the States-general were then in England endeavouring to negotiate a treaty, they felt that if they lost the present opportunity of obtaining compensation they might wait in vain for another. Ultimately, however, the negotiation having failed, and open hostilities between the two countries having been declared, their claims were again indefinitely postponed. A.D. 1654.

At the very time when the Dutch war broke out, it was apprehended that the proceedings of Admiral Blake at Lisbon, where part of the English fleet which had adhered to the Royalists had been attacked, might lead to a rupture with Portugal. The Company were thus in the perilous predicament of being attacked in India by two nations at once, while almost totally unprovided with the means of resistance. To add to their difficulties, a fierce war was raging between the Kings of Bejapoor and Golconda, to the great obstruction of their trade on the Coromandel coast. It is not to be wondered at, that in these circumstances the Company, yielding to a feeling of despondency, refused to sanction an additional outlay on the fortifications of St. George, though it was truly urged by the agents there that these formed the only security to the inland trade, and the principal protection to the shipping; and that, under certain firmans which had been obtained from the Nabob of the Carnatic, authorizing them to purchase cloths and other goods without restriction in all parts of his government, the trade might be very largely extended. European and Indian wars.

The vigour and success with which the war was prosecuted by Cromwell, soon threatened the Dutch commerce in Europe with total destruction; but in India, where their maritime and commercial ascendency had been long established, they completely swept the seas. Shortly after the declaration of war, they appeared off Swally with a fleet of eight large ships, and might easily have annihilated the English establishment at Surat, had they not been afraid of provoking the hostility of the Great Mogul by carrying war into any portion of his dominions. Contenting themselves, therefore, with offering large bribes to the governor and other officials, to induce them to harass the English by obstructing them in every way, they set sail for the Persian Gulf, where they not only put a stop to the lucrative trade which the Company had long carried on between Surat and Gomberoon, but captured three of their ships, and drove a fourth on shore, where she was totally lost. These disasters, which might have been expected to dispirit the Company, seemed rather to have roused their courage, for they are found petitioning the government to lend them five or six frigates, which they would man and equip at their own expense, and despatch to the East Indies for the purpose of making reprisals. This warlike movement appears not to have been encouraged, and in fact soon ceased to be necessary, as the Dutch, now completely humbled, were eagerly suing for a termination of hostilities. After a negotiation, during which the Dutch became sensible that they would be obliged to submit to any terms which Cromwell chose to dictate, the peace concluded was ratified at Westminster, 5th April, 1654. Ascendency of the Dutch in the East. Peace concluded.

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A.D. 1654.

In the treaty drawn up on this occasion the claims of the Company were not forgotten. By the twenty-seventh article, it was agreed:—"That the Lords the States-general of the United Provinces shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the republic of England is pleased to term that fact; provided any of them be living." By the thirtieth article, four commissioners were to be named on both sides to meet at London, and "to examine and distinguish all those losses and injurys, in the year 1611 and after to the 18th of May, 1652, according to the English style, as well in the East Indies as in Greenland, Muscovy, Brazil, or wherever else either party complains of having received them from the other; and the particulars of all those injurys and damages shall be exhibited to the said commissioners so nominated before the aforesaid 18th of May, with this restriction, that no new ones shall be admitted after that day." Should the commissioners not come to an agreement within three months, the whole case was to be submitted "to the judgment and arbitration of the Swiss Cantons," who were authorized for that purpose to delegate commissioners, whose decision, given within six months, should "bind both parties, and be well and truly performed." At the first meeting of the commissioners, held on the 30th of August, 1654, the English Company stated their damages at £2,695,999, 15*s*. Strange to say, the Dutch contrived to exceed this amount, and stated theirs at £2,919,861, 3*s*. 6*d*. Both statements were supported by a series of accounts; but the commissioners soon became satisfied that little dependence was to be placed upon them, and within the three months pronounced an award, of which the principal findings were that the island of Polaroon should be restored to the English, and that the Dutch Company should pay to the London Company the sum of £85,000, and to the heirs or executors of the sufferers at Amboyna the sum of £3615.

Compensation awarded to the Company.

Its insignificant amount.

It seems to be admitted that the award was fairly made; and therefore, when the comparatively paltry amount of the compensation is considered, it is difficult to account for the loud outcry which the Company had continued without interruption from the first years of their existence to make against the Dutch, as the main authors of all the calamities which befell them. Surely less clamour might have sufficed, when the object merely was to obtain redress for losses which, spread over the course of nearly half a century, had only reached the aggregate amount of £85,000. When the sum was paid, many questions arose as to the mode in which it was to be apportioned among the proprietors of the different stocks by which the voyages of the Company had been fitted out. A protracted and ruinous litigation might have ensued, had not Cromwell alarmed all the claimants, and united them as in a common danger, by proposing that in the meantime the money should remain with him as a loan. The Company pleaded the general state of their affairs, and the depressed circumstances of many of the individual claimants, as reasons

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for not lending the whole sum; and proposed to receive £35,000 in hand, and to express their gratitude to the Protector by lending him the remaining £50,000, on the understanding that it was to be repaid in eighteen months by instalments. The final apportionment of the sum among the claimants was left to the decision of five arbiters specially appointed for that purpose. A.D. 1654.

Privileges obtained in Bengal.

After the arrangement made with Courten's association, the Company began to trade on what was called a united joint stock; and while contending with many difficulties, made some arrangements which contributed greatly to their ultimate prosperity. Among others may be mentioned, the obtaining of a firman which, in return for a payment of 3000 rupees (£300), gave them the privilege of free trade in Bengal without payment of customs. These very favourable terms, which were obtained in 1651, they owed to the influence of Mr. Gabriel Boughton, who, when English surgeon to the factory at Surat, had gained the favour of Shah Jehan by the cure of one of his daughters, and at a later period resided in Bengal as the medical attendant of the governor, Prince Shuja, Shah Jehan's son. While new facilities for trade were thus opened up in Bengal, the Coromandel coast was not overlooked, and in 1654 the important step was taken of raising Fort St. George to the rank of a presidency. In the use of these and similar advantages, the Company might soon have repaired all their disasters, and attained a higher prosperity than they had enjoyed at any former period. Unhappily new obstacles arose from within. The union with Courten's association had never been cordial; and the members of the latter, accustomed to much more freedom of action than the more regular management of the Company permitted, became loud in their complaints. When the union was formed, the mode of carrying on the joint trade was left open for future arrangement. On this subject, the views of the Company and of the Assada merchants were almost diametrically opposed. The Company, jealous of their privileges, and convinced that they could not maintain them without a joint stock, refused to carry on the trade on any other footing. The Assada merchants, on the contrary, while admitting that a company was necessary, insisted that it should be, not a joint stock, but a regulated company, in which the members should have liberty individually "to employ their own stocks, servants, and shipping, in such way as they might conceive most to their own advantage." To procure an authoritative settlement of the important question thus raised, both parties, in the end of 1654, appeared as petitioners before the council of state.

Madras raised to a presidency.

Arrangements in favour of the existing Company.

The Company, in their petition, repeated all the arguments which they had been accustomed to urge in favour of a joint stock: their own experience acquired during a course of forty years—the formidable competition of the Portuguese and Dutch—the failure of isolated voyages, the expenses of equipment far exceeding the means of individual adventurers—the extent of territory over which the trade extended, the factories of the Company being actually situated "in the dominions of not less than fourteen sovereigns"—and, above

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A.D. 1656.

all, "the engagements which the Company were under to the native powers to make good any losses which their subjects might sustain by the depredations of Englishmen," even though these should not belong to their service. On these grounds, they thought themselves entitled to pray that the Protector would be pleased to renew their charter, with such additional privileges as had been found necessary to enable them to carry on their trade; to prohibit private persons from sending out shipping to India; and to assist them in recovering their position in the Spice Islands. Were this prayer granted, they had no doubt of being able not only to procure a large subscription at present, but to establish the East India trade on a secure and durable basis.

Arrangements in favour of a regulated company.

On the other hand, the Assada merchants alleged that management by joint stocks had not been so profitable either to subscribers or to the public as that of separate voyages would have been; and appealed in proof to the successful manner in which the Turkey, Muscovy, and Eastland trades were carried on under free companies. Besides this appeal to experience, they argued the point at great length, insisting, in substance, that a free trade regulated would encourage industry and ingenuity, giving them full latitude and scope for exercise; while each person, instead of standing idle and leaving others to act for him, had the ordering of his own affairs, and consequently opportunity to make use of his own talents; that by increasing the number of traders, it would destroy the spirit of monopoly, and, by means of active competition, lower the price of foreign commodities, to the great advantage of the public; that instead of restricting adventurers to a set time when the subscription list of a joint stock required to be peremptorily closed, and to the payment of ready money as the only mode of investment, it left them at full liberty to choose their own time, and to invest in the mode which might be most convenient, not merely in ready money, but in goods or shipping; and, finally, that besides being less expensive in its management than a joint stock, it would be far more efficient, because the adventurers, "being whetted on by their own interest and the competition of others, will in reason turn every stone for discovering of new trades;" and thus have some advantage over the Dutch Company, who, having little control over their servants abroad, make Holland the principal seat of their management.

Cromwell's decision.

While the subject of a joint stock or a regulated trade was thus keenly agitated, Cromwell at first maintained a strict neutrality between the contending parties, granting authority to both to undertake voyages to India, and conduct them on their own principles. An authoritative decision, however, was necessary; and to obtain it, the whole question was submitted to the council of state in a writing signed by the Protector's own hand, and bearing date 20th October, 1656. The council referred the matter to a select committee, who were directed to report "in what manner the East India trade might be best managed for the public good and its own encouragement." On 18th December following, the committee reported that, after taking means to obtain the fullest informa-

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A.D. 1658.

tion, by directing notices to be affixed to the Exchange, appointing a day for all persons concerned in the East India trade to attend, and fully considering all the arguments urged orally or in writing by both parties, they had not ventured to come to any positive determination, though their own private opinion was that the trade ought to be conducted on an united joint stock. The council having the question thus returned upon them, summoned the governor and committees of the Company and the principal merchant adventurers to the East Indies to attend them; and after a full hearing on January 28, 1657, gave it as their advice to the Protector, "That the trade of East Indya be mannaged by a united joynt stock, exclusive of all others." Within a fortnight thereafter, Cromwell announced his determination to act on this advice; and a committee of the council was appointed to consider the terms of the charter to be granted to the East India Company.

A new joint-stock company formed.

It is to be presumed that the charter thus virtually promised was actually granted; but, strange to say, no copy of it has ever been discovered, and the only evidence of its existence is derived from a reference made to it in a petition which the Company presented to Cromwell in 1658, and from a letter from Fort St. George to the factory of Surat, in which it is stated that a vessel called the *Blackmoore*, which arrived from England on the 12th of June in that year, had "posted away with all haste after his highness the Lord Protector had signed the Company's charter." The Company were, of course, greatly elated with their success; and having again formed a coalition with the principal members of the merchant adventurers, succeeded in obtaining a subscription of £786,000 to form a new joint stock. It was necessary, however, before acting upon it, to make an arrangement for the settlement of previously existing claims. Under the original agreement with Courten's association, the trade had for some years been carried on by the funds of what was called the "United Joint Stock." The state of its affairs, made up to the date of 1st September, 1655, throws light on the position which the Company then occupied:—

ACCOUNT-GENERAL OF THE UNITED JOINT STOCK, ON THE 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1655.[1]

	Debit.		
Salaries of the merchants remaining in India, from 30th Nov., 1650, to 30th Nov., 1656, at £2066, 2*s*. 8*d* per annum, to be paid in India,	£9,641	19	4
Mariners' wages, for the like terms, per estimate,	4,000	0	0
Two years' generall expences in Suratt, from 30th Nov., 1654, to Nov., 1656,	7,600	0	0
—— Coast of Coromandell,	5,000	0	0
—— Bantam, &c.,	2,800	0	0
Salary of the merchants gone upon the *Three Brothers*,	230	0	0
Gratuitys to the committees, none having been paid since this stock began,	—		
Rests,	156,317	7	8
	£185,589	7	0

	Credit.		
Balance of estate in England, made up to the 1st Sept., 1655,	£82,053	12	2
Remaines in Suratt and subordinate factories,	32,829	5	0
At Madraspatnam and factories on that coast,	22,671	11	3
At Bantam and subordinates,	26,451	10	7
Voyage to Pollaroone,	1,051	0	0
Fort St. George, value, with all privileges of saving of customs,	6,000	0	0
Customs of Gombroon,	9,000	0	0
Three houses in Agra, Ahmedabad, and Lucknow, with the garden at Suratt,	1,932	0	0
Five houses at Bantam, Japarra, Macassar, Jambee, and Bangar-Masseen,	3,600	0	0
Ship *Expedition*,	500	0	0
— *Sea-horse*,	250	0	0
Sloop *Maryne*,	200	0	0
Pynnace *Hope*,	50	0	0
	£185,589	7	0

[1] This account is copied from Bruce's *Annals* (i. 507), but the two columns do not tally, as the credit side amounts to £186,588, 19*s*. 0*d*. The error, however, does not interfere with the purpose for which the account is given.

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A.D. 1658.

From this account, it appears that at its date the balance of the credit of the united joint stock amounted to the large sum of £156,317, 7s. 8d. In 1658, when the new joint stock was formed, this balance must have been considerably reduced; but as much remained as to make it necessary to settle the terms on which, if not the whole, at least that portion of it which belonged to what is called dead stock was to be transferred. The terms, apparently very favourable, were:—That "on the new stock paying £20,000, by two instalments, to the united stock, the forts, privileges, and immunities in India and Persia should be made over in full right, and the three ships and £14,000 in bullion, prepared for the voyage of this season, transferred at prime cost of the new stock; that on the arrival of these ships at the Company's factories, the goods, furniture, and stores were to be transferred to the new account, at the valuation of 6s. 6d. sterling per rial of eight; that the servants of the new stock should assist those of the united stock in recovering their debts; and that the united stock should be charged with the expenses of the settlements and trade till the arrival of the shipping of the new stock, when the agents of this stock should take charge, and be entitled to receive the customs of Gomberoon after the 1st October, 1658." Another arrangement of some importance was, that such persons as had served an apprenticeship to the members of the joint stock, should be admitted freemen and members of the Company on paying a fine of £5; and that the persons who had been possessed of shares in the former trade, and, on that account, had property in the Indies, were not to be deemed private traders, but were required, after a specified time, to carry the amount of such property to the account of the new stock.

Valuation of stock.

New arrangements abroad.

Having amicably settled these preliminaries, the Company proceeded to make a new arrangement of their establishments abroad. In future, the other presidencies and factories, and more especially the factories and trade in Persia, were to be subordinate to the president and council of Surat; at the same time, the presidency of Fort St. George was not only to be maintained, but to have a control over all the other factories on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal, where the Company now had a principal factory at Hooghly, together with inferior agencies at Cossimbazar, Balasore, and Patna. The insular factories and agencies were to be subordinate, as before, to the president and council of Bantam. The abuse of private traffic by the Company's servants, which had long been complained of, and had even, we have seen, been denounced in royal proclamations, again attracted attention; and the appropriate remedy was adopted by issuing an absolute prohibition of such traffic, and compensating for the withdrawal of it by increasing the salaries of the presidents and members of council, and of the subordinate servants. As an additional protection against the continuance of the abuse, all officials were required to sign security bonds to specified amounts, to keep diaries of their proceedings, and annually transmit certified copies of them to the court in England. It is scarcely

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necessary to observe that these regulations for the suppression of private trade proved unavailing; and that the abuse, instead of being suppressed, kept pace with the progress, and, in not a few instances, seriously damaged the interests and even brought a stigma on the character of the Company. A.D. 1627.

Death of Cromwell.

Scarcely had these arrangements been completed when Cromwell was called to his final account. This event, which took place in 1658, was attended with so many important changes, that all great interests, commercial as well as political, were more or less seriously affected by it. Having thus arrived at what may be considered a new era in the history of the Company, it will be proper, before continuing it, to bring up the history of the Mogul empire from the termination of the reign of Jehangir in 1627.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Shah Jehan—His deposition by Aurungzebe—Rise and progress of the Mahrattas—Reign of Aurungzebe.

Competition for Jehangir's succession.

SEVERAL years before the death of Jehangir, the succession to his throne was keenly contested by different members of his family. Khosroo, the eldest son, who had been the favourite of his grandfather Akber, failed in an attempt to seize the crown when Akber died, and was in consequence subjected during the remainder of his life to a rigorous imprisonment. Parviz, the second son, naturally looked forward to the succession; and was confirmed in the belief that it was intended for him, when his father intrusted him with the nominal command in the Deccan, where a great contest for supremacy was waged between the Mahometans and Hindoos. He proved unequal to the task assigned him, and was ultimately superseded by the third son, Khurram, whose abilities were of a superior order, and whose military fame had been established by a successful campaign in Mewar. These alone would not have sufficed had he not also enjoyed the favour of Nur Jehan, who had established a complete ascendency over her husband Jehangir, and virtually governed in his name. Under this influence Khurram, invested with ample powers, and bearing the title of king, which amounted to a recognition of him as heir apparent, proceeded to the Deccan. Here the first object was to recover those territories which had thrown off allegiance to the Mogul, and more especially the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, which, owing to the great abilities of an Abyssinian, named Mullik Amber, prime minister to the king, Nizam Shah, had successfully resisted all attempts to subdue it. Khurram was again successful; and, in return for his success, was

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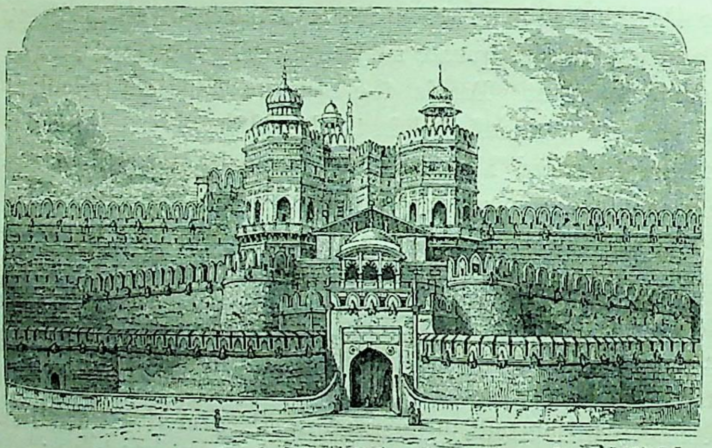
A.D. 1628.

made Viceroy of Gujerat, in which capacity mention is often made of him in the journal of Sir Thomas Roe.

While Khurram's way to the throne was thus apparently clear, he stood on the brink of a precipice. His brother Shehriar, the youngest son of Jehangir, had become the son-in-law of Nur Jehan by marrying Shir Afgan, her daughter by her first husband. In consequence of this affinity, Nur Jehan was bent on securing the succession to Shehriar, and made no secret of her intention. She had little difficulty in gaining the assent of Jehangir; but Khurram, determined not to be excluded from the great object of his ambition, raised the standard of revolt. He had married the daughter of Asof Khan, Nur Jehan's brother, and in him had a powerful supporter; but Nur Jehan chose her measures so skilfully, that Khurram soon found himself a fugitive in the Deccan. Here he succeeded in forming a league with his old opponent Mullik Amber; but misfortune still attended him, and he was obliged to throw himself on his father's mercy. It would not have availed him; but a new revolt, produced by the imperiousness of Nur Jehan, drew off her thoughts from the vengeance which she was meditating, and he escaped. In consequence of the revolt, both Jehangir and his queen became for a time prisoners in the hands of Mohabat Khan, a celebrated general, to whose military talents Khurram's previous discomfiture had mainly been owing. Jehangir died shortly after obtaining his liberty, leaving a will which appointed Shehriar his successor. Nur Jehan attempted to give effect to it, but the death of her husband completely destroyed her influence; and though she survived for many years, she never again figured in public life. Shehriar, by seizing the royal treasure, was able to raise an army and fight a battle for the crown. Khurram, however, now supported by the leading parties in the state, completely defeated him, and, with the usual cruel policy of his race, put him to death, along with two sons of another brother who had joined him. All opposition now ceased; and Khurram, on his arrival at Agra, 26th January, 1628, mounted the throne under the title of Shah Jehan.

Nur Jehan's intrigues for Shehriar.



Gateway to the Fort at Agra.—Oriental Drawing, East India House.

Accession of Khurram, under the title of Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan, overjoyed at his accession after the many misfortunes which had befallen him, and which had made him at one time despair of being able

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to secure it, first testified his gratitude to Asof Khan, his father-in-law, by making him his vizier, and to Mohabat Khan by appointing him his commander-in-chief; and then began to indulge his natural taste for magnificence by public works and splendid entertainments. In the latter of these he seemed determined to outstrip all his predecessors; and on the first anniversary of his accession, not satisfied with the usual ceremony of distributing his own weight in presents of the most costly materials, caused vessels filled with jewels to be waved round his head or poured over his person as a supposed means of averting misfortune, and scattered the contents among the bystanders. In the valley of Cashmere, where the ceremony was performed, the value thus expended was estimated at £1,600,000. A.D. 1623.

Insurrections in various quarters.

He was not allowed long to indulge in such lavish and ostentatious displays. Though his cruel policy had extirpated all the members of his family who might have competed with him for the crown, in several quarters of his dominions the materials for revolt were provided and ready to explode. The Usbeks, endeavouring to profit by the uncertainties of a new reign, laid siege to Cabool and ravaged the surrounding country, till the approach of Mohabat compelled them to retire. In Bundelcund an insurrection, headed by Narsing Deo, the infamous murderer of Abulfazl, was not put down without a serious struggle. But, as in his father's reign, the Deccan was the great theatre of war. The conquest of it by Akber had never been firmly secured; and even after the Hindoos had been forced to yield, their place had been occupied by Mahometan chiefs, who had established the three kingdoms of Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, and Golconda, which often refused to yield even a nominal supremacy to the Mogul, and were always ready to embrace any opportunity which promised to free them entirely from the yoke. Such an opportunity was offered by the revolt of an Afghan chief of the name of Khan Jehan Lody, who had rendered important military services in the time of Jehangir; but, taking umbrage at some proceedings of Shah Jehan, suddenly quitted Agra at the head of 2000 veteran troops, and, in the face of numerous obstacles, made his way through Bundelcund and Gundwana to the court of Ahmednuggur, where he was welcomed by Mullik Amber.

The kings of the Deccan made tributary.

The only chance which the Mahometan kings of the Deccan could have had of resisting the Mogul arms, would have been by forming a mutual league and uniting all their forces against the common invader. Instead of this they kept aloof, under the influence of old jealousies and feuds, and allowed themselves to be crushed in detail. The King of Golconda appears to have been first intimidated, and volunteered tribute. Nizam Shah, King of Ahmednuggur, so long as he was guided by the counsels of Mullik Amber, offered a strenuous resistance; but at last made choice of a new minister, who proved treacherous, and made peace with the Mogul by both murdering the king and sacrificing the independence of the kingdom. The most valiant struggle was made by

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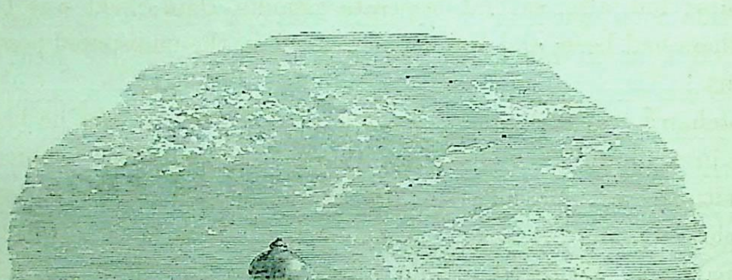
A.D. 1630.

Mahomed Adil Shah, who after obliging Mohabat Khan, the ablest general of the Mogul, to raise the siege of Bejapoor, his capital, gained several other decided advantages. He too, however, finding the contest unequal, was obliged to succumb; and Shah Jehan, now acknowledged supreme over all the Mahometan kingdoms of the Deccan, returned in triumph to his capital. During these campaigns the country suffered dreadfully from the ravages not merely of war, but of famine, which, caused by failures of rain during the two successive years of 1629 and 1630, depopulated whole districts, and inflicted calamities which it took nearly half a century to repair.

Capture of Portuguese factory at Hooghly.

During the campaigns in the Deccan, disturbances had broken out in other quarters. They proved generally unimportant; and the only event in connection with them deserving of notice, was a declaration of hostilities against the Portuguese, whose fortified factory at Hooghly, in Bengal, was in consequence attacked by the Mogul governor, and captured after a siege. An event which gave Shah Jehan more pleasure was the recovery of Kandahar from the Persians, by the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan, the governor, who, dissatisfied with the treatment which he had received from his own sovereign, delivered up the place and took refuge at Delhi. This important acquisition seems to



Ruins of Old Delhi.—From Elliott's Views in the East.

Shah Jehan sends an army to Balkh.

have stimulated the ambition of Shah Jehan, who immediately despatched an army into Balkh and Budukshan, which were now in possession of Nazar Mahomed, younger brother of Imam Kouli, whose rule extended over all the territory beyond the Oxus, from the Caspian Sea to Mount Imaus. The enterprise proved more difficult than had been anticipated; and, after a struggle of several years, Shah Jehan despaired of success. Not only Ali Merdan found

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his efforts unavailing; but two of the emperor's sons, Murad and Aurungzebe, sustained repeated discomfitures. Even after an arrangement had been made which left Nazar Mahomed in possession of more than his original territory, Aurungzebe, attacked by the mountaineers of the Hindoo Koosh, made a most disastrous retreat. A.D. 1648.

Siege of Kandahar

Shah Jehan, though much chagrined, still had some compensation in the acquisition of Kandahar; but even this was soon to be wrested from him. In 1648 the Persian monarch Shah Abbas II. made his appearance before it, at the head of a large army. The time was well chosen, for winter, which was about to commence, made it almost impossible to march an army from India to its relief. Aurungzebe, however, undertook the task; and, after almost incredible exertions, only arrived in time to learn that the place had already fallen. He determined to attempt the recovery of it; but, four months after he had opened his batteries, was obliged to raise the siege. A second attempt, in which he was assisted by Saad Ullah, the vizier, having also failed, Dara Sheko, Shah Jehan's eldest son, obtained permission to make a third attack. His force was more numerous and better appointed than those which had previously been employed, and he set out in full confidence of success. Great efforts were made on both sides; but, after several desperate assaults, Dara Sheko was beaten off, as his brothers had been, and Kandahar was left in the undisputed possession of the Persians.

Campaigns in the Deccan.

Shah Jehan's warlike energy seemed now expended; and he had passed two years in tranquillity, when circumstances occurred which tempted him to interfere with the internal affairs of the Deccan, for the purpose of bringing it more completely under his sway. Abdallah Kutb Shah, King of Golconda, had regularly paid the stipulated tribute. The Mogul government, therefore, had no claim against him; and he was entitled to expect that the conditions of the treaty which he had made would, on the part of that government also, be faithfully observed. He was soon taught the contrary. Mir Jumla, who had acquired great wealth as a diamond merchant, and risen by his talents to be Abdallah's prime minister, having lost favour through the misconduct of his son, Mahomed Amin, entered into a correspondence with Aurungzebe, then in the Deccan, and lodged a formal complaint against his master. Abdallah, though tributary to the Moguls, was still perfectly independent in regard to his internal administration, and was therefore both surprised and offended on receiving a mandate from Shah Jehan, haughtily ordering him to give Mir Jumla redress. So far from complying, he sequestrated his property and placed his son in prison. This was probably the very step which Shah Jehan wished him to take, as it furnished him with a plausible pretext for further interference. Orders were accordingly given to Aurungzebe to employ force, if Abdallah still persisted in disobeying his mandate. Acting at once on this authority, Aurungzebe, without any previous warning of hostility, set out ostensibly on

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A.D. 1657.

a visit to Bengal; and being brought in the course of his journey within a short distance of Hyderabad, Abdallah's capital, turned suddenly aside with a body of troops and took forcible possession of it. Abdallah, taken completely by surprise, escaped with difficulty to the hill-fort of Golconda. Here, finding his position desperate, he was under the necessity of submitting to the terms which Aurungzebe chose to dictate. Mir Jumla, in reward for his treachery, was taken into Aurungzebe's confidence, and became one of the main instruments of his ambitious designs. The subjugation of Golconda took place in 1656. In the same year Bejapoor was subjected to similar treatment. Ahmednuggur had before lost even the semblance of independence, and thus the authority of the Mogul seemed as firmly established in the Mahometan portion of the Deccan as in any part of Hindoostan.

Subjugation of the kings of the Deccan.

The conquests thus achieved gave great delight to Shah Jehan. Had he known the use about to be made of them, his feelings would have been very different. Aurungzebe, while professing the utmost disinterestedness, was steadily pursuing his own aggrandizement, and preparing for the struggle which was eventually to give him the throne, even before it became vacant. To this struggle it is now necessary to attend.

Shah Jehan's family.

Shah Jehan, now far advanced in years, had four sons, Dara Sheko, Shuja, Aurungzebe, and Murad. They were all of full, or rather mature age. In 1657, the period to which we now refer, the respective ages of the first three were forty-two, forty, and thirty-eight. Dara, recognized as heir apparent, was resident in the capital, where he enjoyed the full confidence of his father, and in relieving him from the cares, exercised the general powers of government. Shuja ruled as viceroy in Bengal, Aurungzebe, as has been seen, in the Deccan, and Murad in Gujerat. They were all fired with ambition, and disposed to take advantage of the political changes which might be occasioned by their father's death, but differed much in temper and character. Dara was open and generous, but so impetuous and hasty as to set at nought the dictates of prudence; and so liberal, particularly in his religious opinions, as to be obnoxious to the more orthodox Mahometans. Shuja possessed talents, but rendered them useless by giving himself up to pleasure, and acquiring the habits of a confirmed drunkard. Aurungzebe was a perfect adept in dissimulation, and was equally successful in imposing on friends and foes. His principles, if he had any, never stood in the way of his interest; and when he had an end to accomplish, he was not to be deterred by any amount of crime which might be necessary in order to insure success. The only thing in which he could be said to be sincere was his religion, in which he carried fanaticism to its worst extremes, and persecuted with all the zeal which distinguished the earliest propagators of Mahometanism. Murad, the youngest son, bore a considerable resemblance to Shuja in tastes and habits, but was duller in intellect, and, if possible, still grosser in his pleasures. By the mother of these sons Shah Jehan had also two daughters, who, within the

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recesses of the harem, exercised considerable political influence. Padshah Begum, the elder, was her father's favourite, and exerted herself to the utmost to further the interests of Dara. Roushanara, the younger, though not possessed, either in person or intellect, of the accomplishments of her sister, surpassed her as a skilful intriguer, and thus proved a powerful coadjutor to Aurungzebe, to whom she was strongly attached. A.D. 1657.

Preparations to contest the succession.

Such was the position of Shah Jehan's family in 1657, when he was seized with a severe illness, destined apparently to prove fatal. Dara, that he might be able to make the necessary preparations to insure the succession, endeavoured to stop all the avenues of communication through which his brothers might become acquainted with his father's state; but the fact was of too public and important a nature to admit of concealment, and a very short time elapsed before they were made thoroughly acquainted with it. Shuja was the first to act. Immediately assuming the title of king, he assembled a body of troops and began to march in the direction of the capital. Murad, in like manner, assumed the regal title, but instead of quitting his province, endeavoured to provide the sinews of war by seizing the district treasuries and laying siege to Surat, where he expected to find a still richer deposit. Aurungzebe acted with less precipitation, and at first rested satisfied with collecting his forces and encamping with them near his northern frontier. While here he had the satisfaction of seeing Dara and Shuja engaged in hostilities, which only wasted their strength. He at last declared against Dara, but, with his usual dissimulation, endeavoured to disguise his real object by pretending to place his hostility to his eldest brother on religious grounds. For himself, if he had ever entertained ambitious thoughts, he had now laid them aside, and was desirous, as soon as an orthodox successor to the throne was appointed, to retire from the world and spend the remainder of his days at Mecca. Murad was stupid enough to be imposed upon by this shallow pretence, and at once leagued his arms with those of Aurungzebe, in the belief that, in the event of their success, he was to be rewarded with the imperial crown. Dara was thus exposed to two formidable attacks—the one from Shuja, advancing from Bengal, and the other from Aurungzebe and Murad, advancing from the Deccan. Against Shuja he sent his son Soliman Sheko, who encountered him near Benares, and gave him a defeat which compelled him to retrace his steps to Bengal. Against his other brothers he sent the Rajpoot rajah Jeswant Sing. The encounter took place on the banks of the Sipra, near Oojein, in Malwah, and ended in Jeswant's complete discomfiture. The gallantry of Murad had mainly decided the victory; and Aurungzebe, not satisfied with complimenting him upon it, hypocritically humbled himself before him as in token of the homage which he felt due to his future sovereign.

Aurungzebe proves victorious.

While his sons were thus warring with each other for the succession to the crown, Shah Jehan himself, contrary to expectation, had nearly recovered his usual health. Dara at once resigned his power. A very different spirit ani-

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A.D. 1658. mated the other brothers, who, when ordered to lay down their arms, positively refused. They had, in fact, advanced too far to recede, and nothing now remained but a further appeal to arms. Shah Jehan was disposed to take the field in person, but allowed himself to be dissuaded, and left the supreme command to Dara, who soon saw himself at the head of an army which seemed sufficient to crush all his enemies. He might have added greatly to its strength by waiting for the arrival of a large reinforcement, which his son Soliman was bringing from Benares; but his natural impetuosity urged him forward, and, contrary to the better advice of Shah Jehan, he risked an engagement, by which all was lost. The battle was fought at Samaghar, one march from Agra, in the beginning of June, 1658. Many individual acts of heroism were performed on both sides; and victory hung suspended till the disappearance of Dara, in consequence of his elephant having become unmanageable, so discouraged his soldiers that a general panic ensued. In the evening, when he reached Agra in his flight, he could only muster 2000 men, all the rest of his army had perished or been dispersed. Three days after, Aurungzebe and Murad made their appearance, and took immediate possession of the capital. Dara was not in it, for, oppressed with grief and shame, he had hastily quitted for Delhi, but Shah Jehan was still in his palace.

Aurungzebe dethrones his father.

Aurungzebe's course was already determined, but policy did not allow him all at once to throw off the mask, and he spent some days in sending humble messages to his father, justifying his proceedings on the plea of necessity, and endeavouring to obtain the sanction of them. His object, probably, was to leave his father in nominal possession of the throne, while he retained all the powers of government in his own hand. Shah Jehan, however, was not to be thus won over. Dara's misfortunes only gave him a stronger hold than ever on his affections, and he refused to concur in any proposal for disinheriting him. Aurungzebe, thus made aware that he could only possess the crown as an usurper, did not hesitate to make his father a prisoner and assume the reins of government. Murad, who had been dreaming of the crown, soon found that he was only his brother's dupe. As soon as Aurungzebe had no further use for him, he invited him to supper; and, after feasting him till he was in a state of helpless intoxication, stripped him of his arms and placed him in confinement.

Character of Shah Jehan's reign.

Shah Jehan was allowed to remain in his palace, where he continued to live for seven years. Much outward respect was shown him, but a strict watch was kept on his movements, and he was entirely excluded from all share in the government. The energy and talent which he had displayed during the greater part of his reign appear to have entirely forsaken him, and he made no effort to regain his freedom. It is remarkable that no attempt at rescue was made from without. His reign had been long and prosperous, and his subjects had enjoyed a degree of happiness to which they had previously been strangers. His wars, carried on for the most part on the outskirts of his dominions, had

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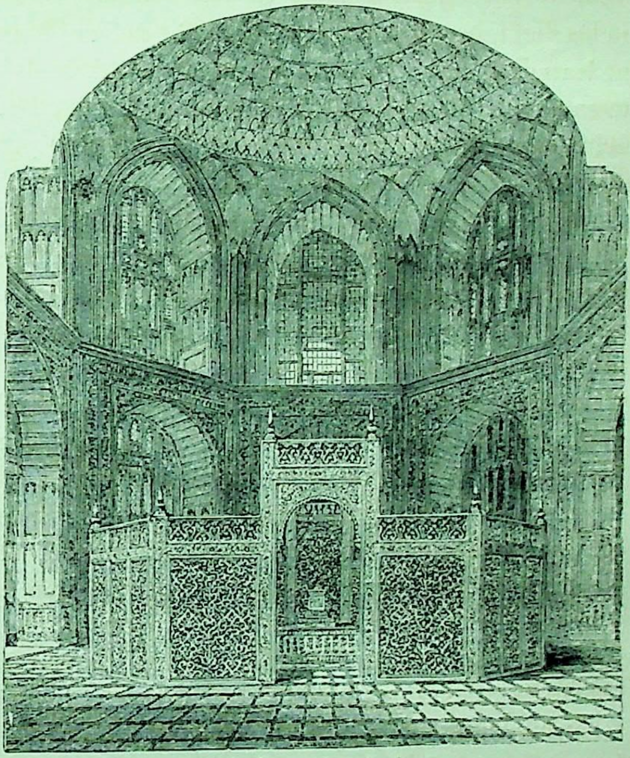
A.D. 1665.

brought few calamities on his own subjects, while his internal administration had been singularly moderate and equitable. It might have been supposed that such a reign would terminate peacefully, or at least that no usurper would be allowed to extinguish it by violence, without exciting universal indignation, and stirring up hosts of adversaries in every quarter. The fact was otherwise, and may be regarded as a proof that the people had become indifferent to a change of masters, and were now ready to submit to any yoke which might be imposed on them. In the interval between his dethronement and his death, Shah Jehan was almost forgotten. His public works, however, still speak for him, and prove him to have been, if not the wisest, the most magnificent prince who ever held rule in India. At times his expenditure was not only lavish but childish, as in the instance of the celebrated peacock throne, in the construction of which he is said to have spent above £6,000,000 sterling, chiefly in diamonds and precious stones. A better splendour was displayed in the new city which he built at Delhi, and the noble structures with which he adorned both that city and Agra. In the latter stands conspicuous above all the Taje Mahal, the mausoleum of his queen Mumtaz Mahal, situated in the midst of extensive gardens, on a terrace overhanging the Jumna, and composed of a lofty marble structure, richly decorated with mosaics, and so chaste in design, and imposing in effect, as not to be surpassed in these respects by any edifice in the world. Notwithstanding his lavish expenditure, the revenues.

Shah Jehan's public works.



INTERIOR OF TAJE MAHAL AT AGRA.[1]—Oriental Drawing, East India House.

[1] "The light to the central apartment is admitted only through double screens of white marble trellis-work, of the most exquisite design; one on the outer, and one on the inner face of the walls. In our climate this would produce nearly complete darkness; but in India, and in a building wholly composed of white marble, this was required to temper the glare that otherwise would have been intolerable. As it is, no words can express the chastened beauty of that central chamber seen in the soft gloom of the subdued light that reaches it through the distant and half-closed openings that surround it."—Fergusson's *Hand-Book of Architecture*. "Tavernier saw this building begun and finished, and tells us it occupied 20,000 men for

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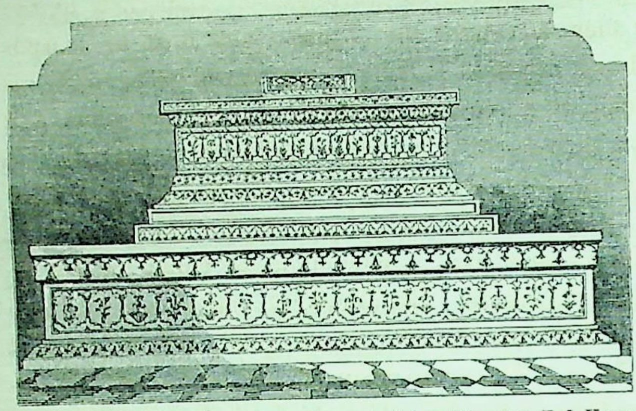
A.D. 1659.

without being oppressive, were so ably and economically managed during Shah Jehan's reign, that in addition to vast accumulations of plate and jewellery, he left to the value of about twenty millions sterling in coin.



Tomb of Shah Jehan in the Taje Mahal.[1]—Oriental Drawing, E. I. House.

Aurungzebe was no sooner seated on the throne than he endeavoured to make it secure by crushing his competitors. Dara, after a short halt at Delhi, had proceeded to Lahore, and was busily employed in raising an army with the money obtained there from the royal treasury, when he learned that Aurungzebe was already at his heels. Conscious of his inability to encounter him, he quitted Lahore at the head of 4000 men, and made for Scinde by way of Mooltan. He was saved from pursuit by the advance of his brother Shuja from Bengal, at the head of a force so formidable that Aurungzebe thought his presence was immediately required. He accordingly returned to Delhi, and, having made the necessary preparations, marched south-east past Etawah, in the direction of Allahabad. The armies met at Cajwah, about midway between these cities. Shuja held a strong position which he was not disposed to quit, and several days elapsed before the decisive struggle took place. It was commenced by Shuja, who, advancing at sunrise on the 6th of January, 1659, proceeded amidst a furious cannonade to close action. The contest was manfully maintained till Aurungzebe, who had repeatedly been in imminent danger, succeeded in forcing the enemy's centre. Shuja was in consequence completely defeated, with the loss of 114 cannon and a number of elephants. Closely pursued by Mahomed Sultan, Aurungzebe's son, and Mir Jumla, he continued his flight, and never halted till he reached Bengal.

Adventures of Dara.

His disasters and tragical fate.

Dara meanwhile had arrived in Scinde, where he found his ranks so much thinned by desertion, that, to escape capture by a detachment which had been following on his track, he had crossed the desert to Cutch. After a short stay here he entered Gujerat, and by the influence of Shah Nawaz Khan, its governor, had become master of the whole province, including the important towns of Surat and Baroach. His prospects thus brightening, he opened a communication with the princes of the Deccan, and also with Jeswant Sing

twenty-two years. The mausoleum and all the buildings that appertain to it cost 3,17,48026 (three crore, seventeen lacks, forty-eight thousand and twenty-six rupees, or £3,174,802 sterling."—Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections by an Indian Official*.

[1] On the queen's tombstone are passages from the Koran, amidst wreaths of flowers; on her husband's only his name and date of death, and mosaic of flowers. The tombs are within a screen of trellis-work of white marble, a chef-d'œuvre of elegance in Indian art.

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A.D. 1659.

the Rajah of Joodpoor. In the latter he hoped to find an important coadjutor, but was disappointed, as the rajah, after balancing interests, was satisfied he would gain more by giving his adhesion to Aurungzebe. Dara, now at the head of an army of 20,000 men, advanced into Ajmeer, and took up a commanding position. He had not occupied it long before Aurungzebe made his appearance. After a cannonade of three days a general assault took place, and Dara saw himself once more defeated and compelled to become a fugitive. A week of incessant toil and hardship brought him to the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad; but it was to meet a bitter disappointment, for the gates were shut against him. His only resource was a new flight to Cutch, where he arrived with a mere handful of adherents. His altered circumstances produced a corresponding change in the ruler, who received him so coldly that he resolved to pursue his march to Kandahar. The route brought him to the small territory of Jun, on the east frontiers of Scinde. The chief, who was under great obligations to Dara, received him with much apparent kindness, but immediately meditated an act of gross treachery, and accomplished it by delivering him up to his enemies. Aurungzebe was so delighted with the news that he celebrated it by public rejoicings. Both Dara and a son Sepehr, who might have proved equally dangerous, were his prisoners. The son was forthwith confined in the strong castle of Gwalior; the father was reserved for more barbarous treatment. The form of a trial was given him; but the charge was not for any offence against the state, but for apostasy from Mahometanism. Absurd and monstrous as the charge was, no difficulty was found in constituting a court which held it proven, and pronounced sentence of death. After a hypocritical show of reluctance, Aurungzebe confirmed the iniquitous sentence, and Dara was executed.

Dara's disasters and tragical fate.

During these transactions the war with Shuja was vigorously prosecuted by Mir Jumla, who drove him from the different strong positions in which he had posted himself, and compelled him, after a series of struggles, to seek an asylum in Aracan. The particulars of his subsequent history are not well known. One account is that the ruler of the country, doubtless at the instigation of Aurungzebe, was preparing to detain him as a prisoner, and that Shuja, made aware of his danger, endeavoured to avert it by heading an insurrection. If this account is true, he probably perished in the attempt to overthrow the Aracan government; but the only thing certain is, that neither Shuja nor any member of his family was afterwards heard of. The only immediate descendants of Shah Jehan who could now give Aurungzebe any alarm were Murad and his son, and Soliman Sheko and Sepehr Sheko, the two sons of Dara. They were already within his power, being all prisoners in the fort of Gwalior. Murad was put to death for a murder alleged to have been committed by him when Viceroy of Gujerat. The others quickly disappeared by deaths which Aurungzebe declared to be natural, but which were universally believed to have been violent.

Shuja's ineffectual struggle.

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A.D. —

The Mahrattas

Aurungzebe's supremacy was now firmly established in every part of Hindoostan. In the Deccan, on the contrary, a new power had appeared; and a struggle, about to commence, was destined not to terminate till it had laid the Mogul empire in ruins. A race of native Hindoos, called Mahrattas, occupied a tract of the Deccan, bounded on the north by the mountain range which forms the water-shed between the basins of the Nerbudda and the Taptee, by the sea on the west, by the Wurda on the east, and in other directions by a line drawn obliquely from the vicinity of Goa through Beder to Chandah. Within this tract the great physical feature is the range of the Western Ghauts, descending precipitously to the sea through the narrow rugged strip known by the name of the Concan, but sloping gradually towards the interior, so as to form a lofty table land. This country, studded over with natural fortresses, and rendered almost inaccessible by forests and mountains, was admirably adapted to be the abode of a nation of marauders. Such the Mahrattas were, and had been from time immemorial. Strong, active, and daring, full of craft and void of honour, they were ever on the alert to pursue their own interest, while utterly regardless of the means. Descending suddenly into the plains they spread devastation on every side, and before they could be overtaken were hastening back laden with booty to their mountain fastnesses. The terror of their name was thus widely spread; and many of their neighbours purchased exemption from their ravages by annual payments. The three Mahometan sovereigns of Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, and Golconda, being by their position brought into frequent communication with the Mahrattas, naturally endeavoured to turn their military qualities to good account by employing them as soldiers. In this way not a few of them acquired distinction, and rose to offices of trust. Mullik Amber, the celebrated prime minister and virtual sovereign of Ahmednuggur, in particular, made great use of their services, and was so well satisfied with them that not a few of his most distinguished officers were Mahrattas. One of these, called Jadu Rao, had attained to a command of 10,000 men. Subordinate to him, and under his immediate protection, was another Mahratta, named Malojee Bosla. The latter, as he brought into the field only a few mounted retainers, could not have been a person of much consequence; but he was one of those bold and dexterous adventurers on whom no opportunity of advancing his fortune was ever thrown away.

Their country.

Shahjee.

Malojee, accompanied by his son Shahjee, a boy of five years of age, was attending a great Hindoo festival, when Jadu, at whose house it was celebrated, giving way to the hilarity of the occasion, took up his daughter, a girl of three years old, and placing her and Shahjee on his knees, laughingly exclaimed "What a fine couple! They ought to be man and wife!" No sooner had the words passed his lips than Malojee started up, and took the company to witness that Jadu's daughter was affianced to his son. Jadu, who boasted of a Rajpoot descent, was indignant that one whom he probably regarded as a mere under-

His marriage

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ling should thus presume to place himself on a footing of equality with him, and attempt to take advantage of a jocular expression for the purpose of claiming affiance with his family. A quarrel ensued; but Malojee continued to insist that the affiance had been made, and ultimately made good his point by obtaining advancement which placed him on an equality with Jadu, and thus obviated the main objection to the marriage. Shahjee, thus become the son-in-law of Jadu, took a prominent part in the war which extinguished the independence, or rather closed the existence of the Mahometan kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Though on this occasion he belonged not to the winning but the losing party, he managed so well for himself as to become master of all the western portion of that kingdom between its capital and the sea. Nominally this territory now belonged to the King of Bejapoor, to whose share it fell when the Moguls made a partition of the kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Shahjee, therefore, was now in the King of Bejapoor's service; and being sent on an expedition to the south, greatly distinguished himself by making conquests in the territory of Mysore. He was rewarded for this service with a large jaghire, including within its limits the important towns of Sera and Bangalore. A.D. 1627.

By his marriage with Jadu's daughter, Shahjee had several sons. The eldest accompanied him to Mysore, and died there; the second, born in May, 1627, and named Sevajee, had been left at Poonah with a Brahmin, Dadajee Condu, who, during Shahjee's absence, managed his Bejapoor jaghire. The training which young Sevajee here received determined his future character. He became at once a zealous Hindoo, and an expert and fearless warrior. His principal associates were the horsemen retained in his father's service, or the mountaineers inhabiting the neighbouring Ghauts. Under the influence of such companionship he soon shook off the authority of Dadajee, and was suspected of being in league with marauding parties. Having acquired a body of adherents, and perceived how carelessly some of the hill-forts belonging to Bejapoor were guarded, he made himself master of one of considerable strength, called Torna, situated among the Ghauts, twenty miles south-west of Poonah. It had previously been under the charge of the revenue officer of the district; and when the government of Bejapoor complained, he succeeded by artifice and money in obtaining a confirmation of his seizure. Shortly after, when, by the erection of a new place of strength in the vicinity, a new alarm had been excited, the government made their complaint to Shahjee, who immediately ordered his son to desist from encroachment. Instead of complying, he threw off the paternal authority, as he had done that of his guardian, and not only withheld the revenue of his father's jaghire, but seized upon two forts situated within it. Hitherto he had feigned submission to the King of Bejapoor, but he now felt strong enough to throw off the mask. His first act of open hostility was the plunder of a convoy of royal treasure in the Concan. Feeling himself thus committed, he continued his aggressions, and ere long was in possession of

Sevajee.

He conquers the Concan

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A.D. 1655. five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghauts. New successes attended his arms, and the whole of the Northern Concan fell into his hands.

Other conquests of Sevajee. The King of Bejapoor naturally suspected that Sevajee's conduct was connived at by his father, and therefore endeavoured to strike at the root of the evil by making Shahjee prisoner. He asserted his innocence, but was notwithstanding thrown into a dungeon, and told that if his son did not submit within a certain time, the entrance would be built up. This threat, savage as it was, would probably have been executed, had not Sevajee, who had hitherto kept on friendly terms with Shah Jehan, obtained his interposition in his father's behalf. Having no longer any fears for his father, Sevajee gave full scope to his ambition; and not being restrained by any scruples of honour and justice, procured the assassination of a Hindoo rajah and seized upon his territory, which comprehended the whole of the hilly country south of Poonah from the Ghauts to the Upper Kistna.

Sevajee on Horseback.—Langles, Monumens Anciens et Modernes de l'Hindoustan.

Aurungzebe arrives in the Deccan. While he was thus extending his authority, Aurungzebe arrived in the Deccan in 1655. This event, which might have seemed fatal to Sevajee's projects, was in the first instance rather made subservient to them, as he had previously been recognized as a commander of 5000 horse in the Mogul service; and on presenting a submissive address to Aurungzebe was confirmed in all his acquisitions. As yet, however, he was by no means satisfied; and on seeing Aurungzebe occupied in carrying on war with the King of Golconda, could not resist the opportunity of turning his absence to account. For the first time, therefore, he made an inroad on the Mogul territories. His success fell far short of his expectations; and when Aurungzebe suddenly returned after a rapid and successful campaign, it required all Sevajee's address to save himself from the full weight of his vengeance. Very opportunely for him, Shah Jehan was seized with the sudden illness already mentioned, and Aurungzebe hastened off to prosecute his own ambitious schemes. Sevajee thus relieved from apprehension, renewed his attacks on Bejapoor, the throne of which was now occupied by a minor.

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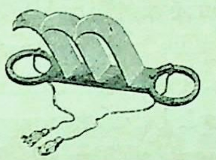
A.D. 1662.

The Regent of Bejapoor, fully alive to the extent of the danger, raised a large army, and gave the command of it to a Mahometan noble of the name of Afzul Khan. The selection was unwise, for Afzul Khan, full of Mussulman pride, despised his enemy, and considered himself sure of victory. Sevajee, well aware of the kind of opponent he had to deal with, took his measures accordingly. Pretending to be overawed by the very terror of his name, he sent a messenger to say that he had given up all idea of resistance, and was only anxious to arrange the terms of submission. After some preliminaries, it was agreed that a personal interview should take place. Sevajee meanwhile showed great alarm lest some undue advantage should be taken of him, and as the most effectual means of dissipating his fears, induced Afzul Khan to meet him at a secluded spot with only a single attendant. Sevajee advanced with a timid, hesitating air, dressed in a cotton tunic. He was apparently unarmed, but wore beneath the tunic a coat of mail, together with a dagger concealed in its sleeve, while within his clenched fist, and attached to his fingers, were sharp hooks of steel, known by the name of "tiger's claws." Afzul Khan, thrown completely off his guard while Sevajee humbly implored forgiveness, was in a moment seized by the claws and stabbed to the heart. His army, which had shared in his overconfidence, was at the same time attacked on all sides by Mahrattas lying in ambuscade, and either perished by the sword or sought safety in flight. This atrocity was perpetrated in 1659, the year after Shah Jehan had been dethroned; and owing to the condition both of the Mogul empire, where a civil war of succession was raging, and of the kingdom of Bejapoor, which was threatened with dissolution from external violence and internal dissension, was allowed to escape with impunity. In 1662, when peace was concluded, Sevajee remained in possession of territory stretching 250 miles along the coast between Goa and Bombay, so as to include the whole of the Concan between these points, and also extending about 150 miles above the Ghauts, from Poonah to Meeruj near the banks of the Kistna. Within this territory, notwithstanding the ruggedness and general infertility of the surface, he was able to maintain an army of 7000 horse and 50,000 foot.

Sevajee assassinates the general of the King of Bejapoor.



WAGNUCK, OR TIGER'S CLAWS [1]

Hostilities between the Moguls and Mahrattas.

Aurungzebe after dethroning his father had conferred the viceroyalty of the Deccan on his maternal uncle Shaista Khan, who arrived in 1662, and fixed his residence at Aurungabad. Hostilities had commenced between the Moguls and Mahrattas, and Sevajee had carried his ravages into the very heart of the Mogul province. Shaista Khan in consequence put his forces in motion, and, driving the Mahrattas before him, gained possession of Poonah. Sevajee had retired to the hill-fort of Singurh, about twelve miles to the south, and there lay watching

[1] This weapon is said by Sir R. Meyrick to have been invented by Sevajee. The instrument is concealed in the hand, the first and fourth fingers being passed through the rings at the ends. The specimen represented in our engraving is in the museum of the East India Company.

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A.D. 1664.

his opportunity. Being informed by spies of all his enemy's movements, he learned that Shaista Khan had taken up his quarters in the house where Sevajee's early days had been spent. Well aware of the Mahrattas' craft, the Mogul commander had taken every precaution against surprise; and was living in supposed security, when a band of armed men, with Sevajee at their head, rushed into his bed-chamber. He escaped by leaping from a window, but not before he had lost two of his fingers by a blow from a sword. The Mahratta party had gained admission into the town by joining a marriage procession, and had afterwards availed themselves of their thorough knowledge of the locality to penetrate into the house by a back entrance. Shaista Khan's son, and most of his attendants, were cut to pieces; and in the confusion, before any steps could be taken, Sevajee was again hastening back in triumph to his mountain fastness. Though the exploit failed in its main object, it was indirectly the cause of important results. Shaista Khan, unwilling to admit that he had been completely outwitted, threw the blame on the rajah, Jeswant Sing; not hesitating to accuse him of treachery, though he had only recently arrived to assist him with a strong reinforcement. In the quarrel which ensued, the operations of the Mogul army were so much crippled that Aurungzebe interposed; and, removing Shaista Khan to the government of Bengal, devolved the command of the Mahratta war on his son, Prince Moazzim, assisted by the rajah. The change was favourable to Sevajee, who did not fail to turn it to account. After an ineffectual attempt on Singurh, the Mogul army had returned to Aurungabad. It was now Sevajee's turn to retaliate. Having, by a number of feigned movements, deceived the enemy, he suddenly darted off at the head of 4000 horse, and was not heard of before he made his appearance at Surat, in the beginning of January, 1664. It possessed no means of defence, and, with the exception of the English and Dutch factories, which effectually resisted the attacks made upon them, was plundered without opposition during six days.

Shaista Khan surprised.

Sevajee acquires a fleet.

Not long after this achievement Sevajee lost his father, Shahjee, who, at a very advanced age, was killed by a fall in hunting. He thus acquired a considerable addition to his territories; and, assuming the title of rajah, began to coin money in his own name. He also turned his attention to naval affairs, and collecting a fleet of eighty-seven vessels, manned with 4000 men, took many Mogul ships, made descents upon the coast, and carried off much plunder from the ports and maritime tracts belonging to the King of Bejapoor. All these aggressions could not be permitted to pass unavenged. The rajah, Jeswant Sing, who enjoyed as much of the confidence of Aurungzebe as that emperor's suspicious temper allowed him to give to any one, arrived in the Deccan at the head of a large army. Sevajee made little resistance in the open field, and though his forts of Singurh and Poorundhur when besieged made an effectual resistance, became so desponding of success that, on being assured of favourable terms, he at once offered to make his submission. It is difficult to penetrate

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his motives, but his conduct on this occasion certainly differs much from that which he had been accustomed to pursue. Without any better security than Jei Sing's promise, he arrived with only a few attendants in the rajah's camp, and then making the humblest professions of fidelity, readily accepted the terms which were offered. Of thirty-two forts which he possessed, he unconditionally surrendered twenty, with all the territory depending on them; the remaining twelve and all his other possessions he was contented to hold as a jaghire from the Mogul emperor. In return for all these sacrifices, he received nothing more than the rank of a commander of 5000 men in the Mogul service, for his son, Sambajee, a boy of five years of age, and a kind of percentage on the revenues of the different districts of Bejapoor. The latter grant was valuable only for its indefiniteness, as it afterwards furnished the Mahrattas with a pretext for making many unfounded claims. On the completion of this arrangement, Sevajee joined the Mogul army with 2000 horse and 8000 infantry, in an invasion of Bejapoor. The deference paid to him by Jei Sing, and two letters from Aurungzebe complimenting him on his services, made such an impression upon him, that he set out with his son Sambajee on a visit to Delhi. His reception was mortifying in the extreme. On approaching the capital, he was met only by an officer of inferior rank, and on entering the presence, was left unnoticed to take his place among commanders of the third rank. Overpowered by feelings of shame and indignation, he slunk behind, and fell down in a swoon. What Aurungzebe intended by this treatment is not very obvious. If he thought that the Mahratta spirit was thus to be tamed, he was greatly mistaken. Sevajee only burned for revenge, and, preparatory to it, began with all his usual craft to plan an escape. He had brought an escort of 500 horse and 1000 foot, and lulled suspicion by asking leave to send them home, on the ground that the climate did not agree with them. He next feigned sickness; and, by gaining over some of the Hindoo physicians who attended him, found means of communicating with his friends without. Meanwhile he was constantly making presents of sweetmeats and provisions to fakirs and other devotees. These were conveyed in large baskets and hampers, which passed so frequently, that the guards set over him ceased to inspect them. Escape thus became comparatively easy. One evening Sevajee was carried out in one of these hampers, and his son in another, and as he had taken the precaution to leave a servant in his bed to counterfeit him, some time elapsed before the escape was discovered. A strict search was made in every quarter, and all the avenues by which he might pass to his own country were carefully watched; but at length, after nine months of surprising adventures, he made his appearance among his own people in the disguise of a Hindoo religious mendicant.

A.D. 1664.

Sevajee professes submission to Aurungzebe.

Visits Delhi.

Is mortified by his reception and takes flight.

It was not Sevajee's policy to come at once to a final rupture with the Moguls; and therefore, availing himself of a change of commanders in the Deccan, he once more made his peace through the mediation of Jeswant Sing.

He makes new acquisitions

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A.D. 1672.

obtained a formal recognition of his title of rajah, and, in addition to the recovery of a large portion of his old territory, obtained the grant of a new jaghire in Berar. He was thus at liberty to turn his arms against Bejapoor and Golconda, both of which, unwilling to risk a contest, submitted to the humiliation of paying tribute. An interval of tranquillity followed, and Sevajee turned it to good account, by introducing many important internal reforms, and organizing, with much skill and success, a regular form both of military and civil government.

Game of craft between Aurungzebe and Sevajee.

The new arrangement made between Sevajee and the Moguls was not sincere on either side. Aurungzebe only pretended friendship that he might once more obtain possession of Sevajee's person, and thus save the necessity of the protracted war which must be carried on, in order to subdue him by force of arms. A game of craft was accordingly played for some time, but so little to Aurungzebe's advantage, that he at last threw off the mask and declared open hostilities. Sevajee, so far from declining the contest, took the first active step by attacking and re-capturing his hill-fort of Singurh. Other forts, together with the territories annexed to them, were also recovered; and, in 1670, after again plundering Surat, he retired along the left bank of the Taptee into Candeish, where he set the example, for the first time, of levying *chout*—a kind of permanent black-mail, for which the Mahrattas afterwards became notorious, and which amounted to no less than one-fourth of the annual revenue. Heavy and odious as the exaction was, many districts readily submitted to pay it, in return for the exemption which it gave them from the other forms of Mahratta plunder.

Sevajee's success.

Sevajee's rapid successes were greatly favoured by Aurungzebe's suspicious temper and persecuting bigotry. Ever afraid that his sons might treat him as he had treated his own father, he never intrusted them with any important command, without sharing it with some other officer who might be able to neutralize any treasonable attempts. His war in the Deccan was carried on on this principle, and hence Prince Moazzim was not only crippled in his movements, but obliged to divide his forces so as to expose them to the danger of being beaten in detail. In 1671, Aurungzebe, under the influence of this suspicious spirit, left Moazzim without reinforcements, but at the same time sent Mohabat Khan to act independent of him, with an army of 40,000 men. Thus circumstanced, neither commander was able to cope with the enemy; and, after a few unimportant operations, the rainy season coming on, obliged both to retire into quarters. When the season for resuming operations commenced, Mohabat Khan, while eagerly prosecuting a siege, left 20,000 of his men exposed to the attack of a large army which Sevajee had raised. They were, in consequence, completely defeated. In this battle, which was fought in 1672, the Mahrattas were for the first time successful against the Moguls in fair conflict in the open field. As may be supposed, the moral influence of the victory was

First great victory of the Mahrattas.

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far greater than the actual gain and loss of the combatants, the conquerors being as much elated as the vanquished were disheartened. A.D. 1674.

Insurrections and general discontent

While Aurungzebe was sustaining these losses in the Deccan, his attention was occupied by disturbances in the north-western provinces. The Afghans, always restless and troublesome, had for some time been kept in check by the governor of Cabool, Amin Khan, son and successor of the celebrated Mir Jumla; but in 1670 they defeated him in a pitched battle, and resumed their superiority. After various attempts to subdue them, Aurungzebe undertook the war in person, but with very indifferent success, and after the lapse of three years returned to Delhi. To save his honour, he had concluded a very imperfect arrangement. His return was opportune; for a formidable insurrection, headed by Hindoo devotees, who possessed great influence among their countrymen, broke out in the vicinity of the capital. Its importance was at first underrated, and the idea gaining ground that the rebels were rendered invincible by enchantment, the Mogul troops could scarcely be brought to face them. Ultimately, however, Aurungzebe succeeded in inspiring his Mussulmans with a fanaticism equal to that of the devotees, and the insurgents sustained a signal defeat. The religious form which the insurrection assumed, gave new force to Aurungzebe's bigotry, and he commenced a long course of persecution, with the revival of the odious *jezia*, or capitation tax on Hindoos. The utmost discontent in consequence prevailed; and in the capital in particular, the streets were so crowded with clamorous suppliants, that one day, finding himself obstructed in proceeding to the mosque, he made way for himself by trampling down the mob with his horses and elephants.

Capture of Chittoor.

In the provinces the results of this persecuting system were soon manifested. The Rajpoots entered into a league for mutual defence, and the whole of the western part of Rajpootana rose in arms. An exterminating war commenced, and raged furiously for many years; but as Aurungzebe's resources far exceeded those of the insurgents, he gradually gained ground, captured the remarkable Rajpoot fortress of Chittoor—situated on a lofty isolated rock, which, rising abruptly from its base, had for additional security been scarped all round to the depth of nearly 100 feet—and by the terror of his devastations compelled an external submission from many who continued to hate him in their hearts. In the Deccan, every Hindoo now considering his religion at stake, felt personally interested in the triumph of the Mahrattas. Sevajee, consequently, continued to prosper. In 1674, when a disputed succession in Bejapoor made conquest easy, he extended his sway over the whole of the Southern Concan, with the exception of a few isolated points; and beyond the Ghauts pushed his boundary much farther eastward. Having now all the reality of a great sovereignty, he resolved to complete it in due form; and on the 6th of June, 1674, was crowned with a pomp which imperfectly but ostentatiously imitated the Mogul ceremonial on similar occasions. From this period, regarding himself

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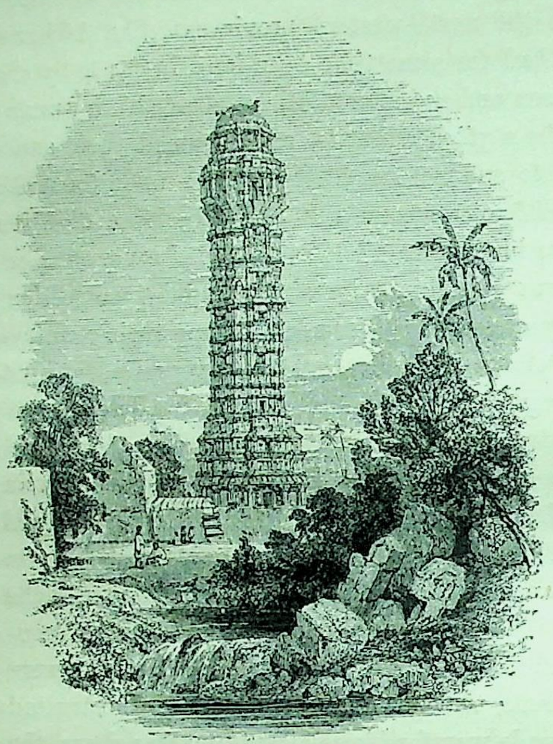
A.D. 1674. as the founder of a new national dynasty, he lived in regal state, changed the name of his officers from Persian to Sanscrit, and became strictly observant of all the rites of Hindooism. These proceedings must have given mortal offence to Aurungzebe; and, accordingly, when the Mahrattas were engaged in making conquests from Bejapoor, the Moguls seized the opportunity to make an incursion into their territory. Sevajee deemed it too unimportant to require his presence, and contented himself with retaliating by sending detachments which plundered Candeish and Berar; and proceeding beyond the Nerbudda, which had never before been crossed by a Mahratta force, carried his devastations as far as Baroach, in Gujerat. For some time his thoughts had been fixed on the south. There the jaghire which his father acquired in Mysore



Tower of Victory, Chittoor.[1]—Fergusson's Hindoo Architecture.

Sevajee's expedition into the Mysore.

was held by a younger brother under the nominal supremacy of Bejapoor. It properly formed part of Sevajee's patrimony, and he determined to obtain it either in virtue of his legal claim or by compulsion. The distance, however, was too great to allow him to set out for it without taking precautions. The territory of the King of Golconda partly intervened, and in order not to leave his rear exposed it was necessary to come to an understanding with him. This was not difficult, as they agreed in regarding the King of Bejapoor and the Mogul emperor as common enemies. After making overtures, which were favourably received, Sevajee set out at the head of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot. On the way he halted at Golconda, and concluded an alliance by which, in return for defence against a Mogul or Bejapoor invasion, a train of artillery and a subsidy in money, he agreed to share with the king all the territory he should conquer beyond his father's jaghire. Continuing his route, he crossed the Toongabudra at Kurnool, proceeded south-east to Cuddapah, then passed

[1] The Kheerut Khumb, or Tower of Victory, was erected in 1439, to commemorate a victory over the combined armies of Malwah and Gujerat by Rana Khumbo, who reigned in Merwar, 1418–68. It stands on a terrace 42 ft. square; it is 172 ft. in height; and each of the four faces is at the base 35 ft. in length. There are nine stories, and on the summit is a cupola. The whole is one mass of the most elaborate sculpture, executed in white marble, and representing various subjects of Hindoo mythology.—Thornton, *Gaz India.*

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close to Madras, and finally turning south-west, presented himself before the strong fort of Gingee, belonging to Bejapoor. He could not have taken it by force; but had previously made secure of it by bribing its commander. The heavy part of his army left behind succeeded in capturing Vellore. On arriving at his father's jaghire, his brother refused to resign it; but ultimately, after he had taken forcible possession, he entered into an arrangement by which he restored it to his brother on condition of receiving half the revenue. A.D. 1680.

Proceedings in Golconda and Bejapoor. The alliance with Golconda had been short-lived; for the king, shortly after Sevajee's departure, arranged with the Moguls, and consequently forfeited all claim to any share in the conquests which had been made. The immediate inducement to abandon the alliance was an invasion of Golconda by the Moguls under a celebrated leader of the name of Dilir Khan. This chief, after his attack on Golconda, entered the territory of Bejapoor, and, though his force was small, so dexterously availed himself of internal dissensions that he was able to lay siege to the capital itself. In this extremity, the King of Bejapoor earnestly applied for assistance to Sevajee, who was advancing for this purpose when he was astonished to learn that his son Sambajee had deserted to the Moguls. His father had imprisoned him in a hill-fort for gross misconduct, and the youth having made his escape fled to Dilir, who received him with open arms. Notwithstanding this domestic calamity, Sevajee continued his exertions with so much vigour that all Dilir Khan's efforts were baffled, and Bejapoor was saved. As the price of this service, Sevajee obtained a large accession of territory, all the Bejapoor districts between the Toongabudra and the Kistna being ceded to him.

Death of Sevajee. Amid all these successes, Sevajee was seized with an illness which carried him off on the 5th of April, 1680. In the course of nature, he might still have had a considerable career to run, as he had only attained his fifty-third year; but he had lived long enough to produce great political changes, and become the founder of an empire. Originally little better than a marauding adventurer, he displayed wonderful sagacity in profiting by every opening that presented itself; and when brought face to face with the most powerful monarch of the East, not only maintained an equal contest but often gained decided advantages. When Aurungzebe entered upon his Mahometan crusade, Sevajee met him on his own ground; and taking Hindooism under his protection, gave it once more a national ascendency. It is not to be denied, that in pursuing his objects he was unscrupulous, and committed several atrocious crimes; but it may be pleaded for him in mitigation, that his enemies were in these respects still worse than himself, and that while their crimes were often the effect of mere barbarism delighting in deeds of blood for their own sake, he was never wantonly cruel, and threw honour and humanity aside only when he imagined, of course erroneously, that sound policy required it.

Sambajee was a very different man from his father, and possessed none of

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A.D. 1680. his good qualities except courage. While a mere youth he had become a complete debauchee; and when by his misconduct he had subjected himself to confinement, so little was his patriotism that the first use he made of his recovered freedom was to desert to the enemy. He had again returned to his country; but, so far from having recovered his father's good graces, was a prisoner in the fort of Panalla when his father died. As might have been expected in these circumstances, some demur was made to his accession, though he was the eldest son; and a party was formed with the view of placing a second son, Rajah Ram, a boy of ten years old, on the throne. This party endeavoured to conceal the news of Sevajee's death; but Sambajee got immediate notice of it, and was at once acknowledged by the garrison of the fort. What had previously been a prison was thus converted into a stronghold, where he remained secure till the party opposed to him broke down; and he entered Ryeghur, the capital, as undisputed sovereign.

Sambajee succeeds Sevajee.

His vices.

His first acts justified the opposition which had been made to him. Sevajee's widow, the mother of Ram Sing, was put to death, Ram Sing himself was imprisoned, several Brahmins of his party were thrown into chains, and such of his enemies as belonged to other castes were beheaded. The disaffection thus produced was greatly increased by harsh treatment of his father's ministers, while he gave himself up to the guidance of a worthless favourite of the name of Calusha, who pandered to his vices.

His attempt on the island of Jinjeera.

The first hostilities in which Sambajee engaged terminated to his disadvantage. The island of Jinjeera, situated on the west coast of India, a little south of Bombay, had long been possessed by the Hubsees or Siddees, chiefs of Abyssinian origin, who held it of Bejapoor on the condition of maintaining a fleet for the protection of commerce, and the safe conveyance of pilgrims to Mecca. The island was strongly fortified; and the Siddees having the command at sea, were able when attacked to offer a very formidable resistance. The proximity of the island to the Mahratta capital would have made it a most desirable possession to that power, as it contributes to form one of the best harbours on the Indian coast; and many were the attempts which Sevajee had made to become master of it. He was always unsuccessful; and while making large conquests in other quarters, had the mortification of seeing all his efforts baffled whenever he directed them against this little spot. Sambajee flattered himself that he would be more fortunate, and no sooner felt firmly seated than he resolved to commence the siege of Jinjeera. One of his operations was to connect the island with the mainland by a mound, and effect the capture by means similar to those which Alexander the Great used when he took the city of Tyre. He proved no Alexander; and after being compelled to raise the siege, was enraged beyond measure on seeing the Siddees plundering his villages, and learning that they had defeated his fleet at sea. In the midst of his wrath he would willingly have fixed the blame on any but himself; and on the pretence that they had

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A.D. 1687.

assisted his enemies, made war on the Portuguese, and was with difficulty restrained from attacking the English also.

War between the Moguls and Mahrattas.

A more formidable enemy than either immediately appeared, and gave him full employment. In the Deccan, the character of the new Mahratta sovereign had soon become manifest; and the strict discipline which Sevajee had maintained rapidly disappeared through the idleness and debauchery of his son. He had left vast treasures, but these were soon squandered, and the attempt to replace them by increasing the land revenue spread general disaffection. Aurungzebe, perfectly informed as to the change which had taken place, had no sooner quelled the insurrection of the Rajpoots than he began his march southwards with the avowed purpose of making a final conquest of the Deccan. His army was so numerous and well equipped that he never contemplated the possibility of failure, and therefore disdained to strengthen himself by forming any alliance with Bejapoor and Golconda. This overweening confidence was his first great fault; another, which looks like infatuation, was the announcement of his determination rigidly to exact the *jezia*. Even his military talents appear to have forsaken him, for he began the campaign without any properly concerted plan. While making a long halt at Boorhanpoor, on the Taptee, he sent off two large detachments—one under Prince Azim to reduce some hill-forts of the Ghauts, and the other under Prince Moazzim to overrun the Concan and penetrate to the south of the Mahratta country. Azim was partially successful, though more by bribery than prowess. Moazzim threaded his way through the thickets of the Deccan without being opposed; and yet, when he arrived in the vicinity of Goa, it was only to find himself in a worse condition than if he had sustained a signal defeat. Almost all his horses and cattle had perished under the hardships of the march and the want of forage, and even the men were beginning to suffer from scarcity. Sambajee, in the meantime, was not idle. While he occupied the passes through the Ghauts, his cruisers were scouring the sea, and capturing the Mogul vessels which were endeavouring to land provisions on the coasts. With the greatest difficulty Moazzim reached the country above the Ghauts with an army almost disorganized, and spent the rainy season near Meeruj, where his ranks were again dreadfully thinned by an epidemic.

Perilous position of the former.

Aurungzebe in the Deccan.

When the campaign was resumed, Aurungzebe advanced in person to Ahmednuggur, while Azim and Moazzim were ordered to enter Bejapoor from opposite directions. Sambajee immediately saw his advantage, and, assembling a body of horse in the north of the Concan, placed himself suddenly in Aurungzebe's rear, sacked and burned the city of Boorhanpoor, and was again back in the Concan, leaving the whole country in a blaze. In Bejapoor the campaign was equally disastrous, neither of the royal princes possessing sufficient strength to make head against the forces opposed to them; and, though both received reinforcements, no advantage whatever was gained, except the capture of Shola-

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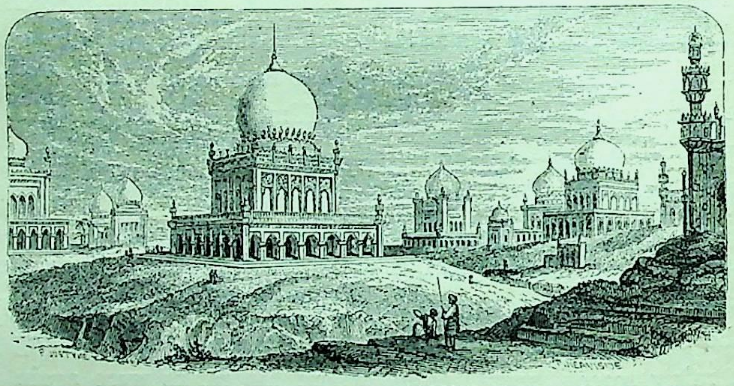
A.D 1687.

poor. To this place Aurungzebe advanced with his army. This movement furnished Sambajee with the opportunity of making another plundering excursion, during which he devastated part of Gujerat and plundered the city of Baroach. About this time he had entered into an alliance with the King of Golconda, who was therefore now regarded as an enemy of the Moguls, and his kingdom invaded by Aurungzebe. The army, commanded by Prince Moazzim, made little progress till the commander-in-chief, a fanatic Mussulman, who was offended at the influence possessed by a Brahmin, turned traitor and deserted, carrying the greater part of his troops along with him. Resistance was now vain; and, while the king took refuge in the fort of Golconda, Hyderabad, his capital, was seized and sacked. Having been reduced to the necessity of accepting whatever terms were offered to him, the Moguls left him effectually crippled, and next turned their arms against Bejapoor. The siege of the capital was immediately commenced by Aurungzebe in person. It was successful, and the Bejapoor monarchy ceased to exist. The splendour to which the capital had attained is still attested by its ruins. Aurungzebe having thus succeeded probably beyond his expectations, appears to have repented of his leniency in having left the King of Golconda even a shadow of independence. Little difficulty was found in devising a pretext for breaking the peace, and the whole territory was speedily overrun. The king, Abul Hasan, shut up in his fort, shook off the effeminacy for which he had previously been notorious, and defended himself successfully for seven months. Treachery at

Subjection of Golconda and Bejapoor.



Tombs of Kings of Golconda.—Grindlay's Scenery of Western India.

last again did its work, and the Golconda monarchy also was extinguished in 1687. The Mogul empire now reached its utmost limits in the south. The kingdoms of Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, and Golconda, were formally incorporated with it, and even a considerable portion of the Mysore, and more especially that part which had formed Shahjee's jaghire, was held at least by military occupation. Vencajee, whom Sevajee had left in possession of the jaghire, was obliged to confine himself to Tanjore; and any other Mahrattas who had made acquisitions in the same quarter, were driven from the open country and found no safety beyond the precincts of their hill-forts.

Southern limits of the Mogul empire.

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While Aurungzebe was thus pursuing his victorious career, Sambajee seemed to be almost forgotten. Under the guidance of the despicable Calusha, he had been pursuing a shameless course of drunkenness and debauchery. The whole of the open country belonging to the Mahrattas was in consequence overrun, and a systematic attempt was about to be made on the forts, when a still more important object was gained by the capture of Sambajee himself. He was living in security at a favourite pleasure house in the Concan, when Tokarrab Khan, the Mogul officer at Kolapoor, acting on a plan which is said to have originated with Aurungzebe himself, set off with a small body of troops, crossed the Ghauts, and, after a journey of nearly sixty miles, made his sudden appearance. An alarm was immediately spread, and escape was still practicable, but Sambajee was in such a state of intoxication as to be unable to attempt it, and was carried off in triumph, together with Calusha, to the Mogul head-quarters. Aurungzebe, deeming it possible to use him as a tool, offered him his life on condition of turning Mussulman; but he rejected the offer with scorn, and spoke of Mahometanism in such contemptuous terms that an ordinary death was deemed an insufficient punishment, and he was subjected to horrid barbarities before being beheaded.

A.D. 1689.

Sambajee taken prisoner and barbarously executed.

This execution, which took place in August, 1689, spread universal indignation among the Mahrattas. Sambajee's worthless character was overlooked, and the heroism with which he had courted death sooner than abjure his faith, made him be regarded somewhat in the light of a martyr. The principal chiefs, immediately on receiving tidings of his death, assembled at Ryeghur, and acknowledged his infant son, Saho, as rajah. Rajah Ram, Sambajee's brother, was appointed regent. The task thus assigned him was extremely difficult. Aurungzebe in person was at the head of an overwhelming force, and it seemed as if the Mahrattas, more especially after the capital, and with it the young rajah himself, fell into his hands, would have no alternative but to throw themselves on the victor's mercy. In this extremity Rajah Ram fled to the strong fortress of Gingee, in the Carnatic, after putting the forts of the Deccan in a good state of defence, and ordering the troops to disperse in their villages and wait for better times. The leading chiefs, whose lands might have been forfeited, made no scruple of making a feigned submission to the Mogul, while they still kept up an understanding with their countrymen, and watched for the first opportunity of joining any rebellion which promised to be successful.

Saho, his infant son, acknowledged as rajah, with Rajah Ram regent.

The subjugation of the Deccan being apparently complete, Aurungzebe despatched a general of the name of Zulfikar Khan to reduce Gingee. Rajah Ram, who had now begun to govern in his own name in consequence of the captivity of his nephew, prepared for a vigorous defence; and Zulfikar Khan had no sooner reconnoitred the place than he saw that success was hopeless without strong reinforcements. While applying for these, he sent part of his army into Tanjore and other southern countries to levy contributions. They

Mahratta devastations.

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Cir. A.D. 1691.

were thus employed when they received an urgent recall. The Mahrattas, who had never entirely desisted from their guerilla warfare, had become emboldened by partial successes, and were mustering strong in various quarters. Scarcely any district in the Deccan was secure from their incursions; and whenever the *chout* was withheld, nothing was to be seen but fire and devastation. Two Mahratta leaders, Santajee Gorpara and Danajee Jadu, particularly distinguished themselves. By intercepting convoys, and attacking isolated detachments, they spread such general alarm that Aurungzebe felt the necessity of endeavouring by decisive measures, to revive the spirit of his troops. Zulfikar Khan was still before Gingee, and unable to make any progress because the reinforcements which he required had been withheld. When they were at last despatched, Aurungzebe gave the chief command to his son Cambaksh, but at the same time, adhering to his suspicious system, controlled his operations by sending along with him Assad Khan, Zulfikar Khan's father. As might have been expected, all parties were dissatisfied with this arrangement. Cambaksh complained that, while he bore the responsibility, the authority which he possessed was only nominal; Assad Khan and his son, on the other hand, complained with equal reason that, while the burden of conducting the war lay on them, all the fame which might be acquired was reserved for another.

Siege of Gingee.

Its slow progress.

While the leaders were thus at variance, the combined operations necessary to insure success could not be adopted. It is even said that Zulfikar Khan carried his resentment so far as to enter into treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and furnish them with intelligence which enabled them to frustrate all the efforts of the besiegers. No wonder that, in such circumstances, the siege was protracted for years. Meanwhile Santajee and Danajee, the two leaders above mentioned, were not idle. Their partizans were spread over the whole country, and they could, on the shortest notice, gather thousands around their standard. Thus feeling their strength, they resolved to make a great effort for the relief of Gingee. The force provided for this purpose amounted to 20,000 chosen horse. It was commanded by Santajee, who came upon the besiegers so suddenly that one of their divisions was completely surprised. An attempt to check his progress only led to a second overthrow, and the Moguls, cut off from their supplies and confined within their intrenchments, became, instead of besiegers, besieged. They adopted the best course which remained to them in the circumstances, and made an arrangement which allowed them to retire to Wandivash, about twenty miles distant.

Capture of Gingee.

During the greater part of the siege, Aurungzebe had remained in permanent cantonments near Punderpoor, on the Beema, but on hearing of this disgrace advanced to Bejapoor. While strongly condemning the conduct of his generals he inconsistently conferred the sole command on Zulfikar Khan, the only one who was truly to blame. After a number of desultory operations, the siege was resumed, and again began to linger till Zulfikar Khan, aware that Aurungzebe's

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suspicions were aroused, saw the necessity of no longer dallying. Accordingly, after allowing Rajah Ram to escape, he carried on his operations in earnest, and soon made himself master of the place. A.D. 1700.

Mahratta dissensions.

This success was partly owing to internal dissensions which had broken out among the Mahrattas. Danajee and Santajee, after acting in concert, had given way to feelings of mutual jealousy, and come to an open rupture. Santajee, as the stricter disciplinarian of the two, was the less popular; and, after an attempt to maintain his position, found his party so weakened that he had no alternative but flight. He was pursued, overtaken, and, notwithstanding all his services, remorselessly put to death. At this time Rajah Ram had taken up his residence in Sattarah, where he had not only succeeded in again organizing the government, but soon found himself so strong as to be able to take the field at the head of the largest army which the Mahrattas had ever raised. Proceeding northward he crossed the Godavery, levying the *chout*, and when it was refused, spreading devastation as far as Jaulna, forty miles east of Aurungabad. Here his progress was checked by a Mogul detachment, headed by his old opponent Zulfikar Khan, who pressed closely upon his track, and inflicted upon him several defeats. These, however, were soon repaired, and the Mahrattas only dispersed for the time, to re-appear in another quarter as strong as ever. On the whole, therefore, the Moguls, even when they gained a victory, were seldom permitted to reap the fruits of it, and hence were gradually becoming more and more exhausted and dispirited.

Capture of Sattarah.

Aurungzebe could not shut his eyes to the difficulties of his position; and though now far advanced in life, gave proof of indomitable energy in the efforts which he made to improve it. Quitting his cantonments on the Beema, he suddenly appeared before Sattarah, which was taken in April, 1700, after a desperate defence, which protracted the siege for several months. While it was carried on, Rajah Ram had died, and been succeeded by a minor son under the regency of his mother, Tara Bai. It is not improbable that this event favoured the Moguls, as, in the course of a few years, all the principal forts of the Mahrattas were wrested from them. The war, however, still continued, and with every new success gained by Aurungzebe, seemed rather to enlarge its sphere. Under the Mahratta system of devastation, the whole Deccan was converted into a desert, and districts which had previously escaped were thrown into consternation by their incursions. Malwah was almost overrun, and no part of Gujerat felt secure. Even the forts, in the capture of which the Moguls had spent so much time and treasure, and lost so many lives, could not be retained, and began to fall, one by one, into the hands of their former possessors.

Aurungzebe's difficulties.

To meet the dangers which thus environed him, all the energy which Aurungzebe possessed in the most vigorous period of his life would scarcely have sufficed, and this energy was now forsaking him. Borne down by the weight of years he longed for repose, and was not unwilling to have purchased it by

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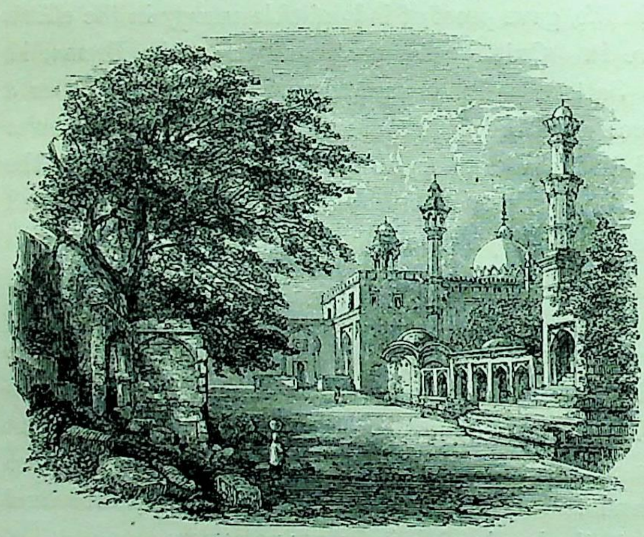
A.D. 1707.

setting the Rajah Saho at liberty, and even submitting to pay an annual percentage on the revenue of the Deccan. The Mahrattas listened to his overtures; but, conscious of their advantages, became so exorbitant in their demands that all attempts at negotiation failed, and Aurungzebe, threatened on every side, was compelled to retreat. He reached Ahmednuggur after a series of disasters and narrow personal escapes. Here his health gave way, and it soon became apparent that his end was approaching. Thus brought face to face with the last enemy, he cowered before him, and trembled under both real and imaginary terrors. None of his crimes seems to have filled him with so much remorse as the dethronement of his father. He feared that the same measure was about to be meted out to himself, and hence saw his worst enemies in his own sons. A suggestion by Prince Moazzim to make arrangements for the future was interpreted into a wish to pluck the crown from his head before he had ceased to wear it; and when a letter from Prince Azim was read, requesting permission to come to Ahmednuggur because his health was suffering at Gujerat, he exclaimed, "That is exactly the pretext I used to Shah Jehan in his illness." Nothing, indeed, could be more melancholy than Aurungzebe's death-bed. A letter dictated to Azim in his last moments gives utterance to his remorse and terror, and concludes thus:—"Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell! farewell! farewell!" Another letter to Prince Cambaksh, his youngest son, is in the same spirit—"Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. . . I have committed numerous crimes, and I know not with what punishments I may be seized. . . The agonies of death come upon me fast."

Aurungzebe's illness and death.



Aurungzebe's Burial-place at Rozah.—Elliott's Views in the East.

It was so; and on 21st February, 1707, Aurungzebe expired, in the eighty-ninth year of his age and the fiftieth of his reign. After his death a document of the nature of a will was found under his pillow, giving the northern and eastern provinces of the empire, with the title of emperor, and the capital, Delhi, to Moazzim — the south-west, and south, including the northern part of the Deccan, with Agra as a capital, to Azim—and the kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapoor to Cambaksh. The extent to which these arrangements were carried out, and the results, will afterwards be seen.

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CHAPTER V.

Resumption of the history of the East India Company—New general charter by Charles II.—Constitutional question raised by the Company's proceedings—Grant of the island of Bombay.

A.D. 1658.

THE reigns of the Mogul emperors, Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, together with the rise and progress of the Mahrattas, are so closely interwoven that it was necessary to link them together in a continuous narrative. In this way many years of the history of the London East India Company have been left behind. It will now be proper, therefore, to retrace our steps and return to the period of Cromwell's death, which took place in 1658, the very same year in which Shah Jehan ceased to reign. The effects, direct or indirect, which both events produced in regard to the Company must now be detailed.

Effect of domestic politics on the Company's proceedings.

After Cromwell, on the recommendation of his council of state, had decided that the trade to the East Indies should in future be carried on by one joint stock, the Company now united with the body designated sometimes as Assada Merchants, and sometimes as Merchant Adventurers, raised the large subscription of £786,000, and despatched five ships, three of them consigned to Surat, Persia, and Bantam, one to Fort St. George, or Madras, and one to Bengal. The civil war which the contending claims of the sons of Shah Jehan had produced in India had a most injurious effect on trade. At Surat in particular the operations of the Company were almost entirely suspended, and the president and council were greatly perplexed as to the course which they ought to pursue; because, as they themselves expressed it, "it was equally dangerous to solicit or to accept of protection, it being impossible to foresee who might ultimately be the Mogul." In England similar results were occasioned by the uncertainty which prevailed while the protectorate, feebly and almost reluctantly continued by Richard Cromwell, was gradually supplanted by the re-establishment of monarchical institutions under Charles II. During this anxious interval the servants of the Company abroad were left very much to their own discretion. When the homeward bound vessels were about to return, the council of Surat, after consultation with the different captains, endeavoured to provide for all contingencies by entering into an arrangement by which the captains agreed to sail as a fleet, and bound themselves under a penalty of £6000 each to keep together as far as practicable. On arriving at St. Helena, which had now become the Company's principal intermediate

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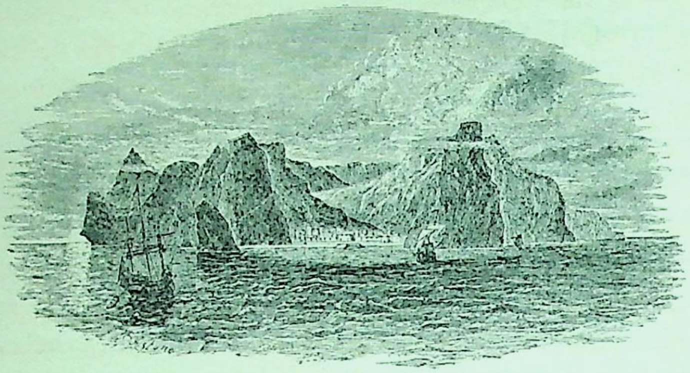
A.D. 1658.

station between Europe and India, they were to wait for intelligence from England, and in the event of its not proving favourable, to direct their course to Barbadoes, and there remain till assured of a safe return.



St. Helena.—From an original picture in East India House.

Formerly the Company had been averse to fortifications, or at least to the expense which it would be necessary to incur in erecting and maintaining them; but it was constantly becoming more and more apparent from the political state of India, as well as from the preponderating influence of the Dutch, that without fortifications, and the absolute control of them, it would be impossible to place the trade on a secure and lasting foundation. Accordingly we find the presidency of Surat, in accordance with instructions received from home, examining the west coast of the Indian peninsula, in order to discover some station which, strong by nature, might be made still stronger by art, so as to afford a secure asylum, and recommending for this purpose different stations which the King of Portugal might be induced to cede. It is rather remarkable that one of these was Bombay, which was shortly after to become the property of the British crown as part of the dowry of the Portuguese infanta. On the Coromandel coast the same necessity for strong fortification was felt, in consequence of the alarm which had been excited by the near approach of Sevajee to Madras when he was marching to his southern conquests. In the Persian Gulf, where the share of the customs of Gomberoon still formed a valuable branch of the Company's revenue, the Persian government had given so many indications of hostility that it was seriously proposed to negotiate the occupation of Muscat. It would almost seem that in proposing this occupation some objects of a very questionable, if not piratical nature were contemplated; for among the inducements mentioned by the Surat presidency are not merely the beneficial effect it might have on their coast trade on the west of India, but the facility it would give "to seize in retaliation on the Malabar junks." In Bengal, notwithstanding various acts of oppression by the governor, the hopeful character of the trade—which seemed capable of being increased to any extent, and rendered peculiarly valuable on account of the fine qualities of the goods, particularly saltpetre, raw silk, taffetas, and other manufactures—made a fortified station particularly desirable; but it could not be obtained voluntarily, and the Mogul government still seemed so strong that the idea of attempting to gain it by force would,

Necessity of fortifying.

Proposed acquisition of Muscat.

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if any had been bold enough to propose it, have been scouted at once as impracticable and monstrous. A.D. 1660.

Effect of the Restoration.

The restoration of Charles II., in 1660, had at first a decidedly favourable influence on the interests of the Company. Amicable relations were at once re-established with Spain; the bonds of friendship with Portugal were drawn closer by royal affinity; and the States-general, while congratulating the king on his return, not only proposed a renewal of friendship, but gave a pledge of their sincerity by ordering the immediate cession of the island of Polaroon to the London East India Company. In regard to this cession it must, however, be added, that the Dutch governor of Batavia, to whom the order was issued, postponed it for several years under various pretexts, and at last obeyed it only in the letter, while he grossly violated it in spirit by previously destroying all the spice trees, so as to render the possession worthless. Some of the other benefits which the Company owed to the Restoration were of a more substantial nature. The first of these to which it is necessary to attend was a new crown charter.

New charter by Charles II.

This deed, dated 3d April, proceeds upon the following preamble:—"Whereas our well-beloved subjects, the Governor and Company of Merchants trading into the East Indies, have been of long time a corporation to the honour and profit of this nation, and have enjoyed and do enjoy divers privileges and immunities by force of several letters-patent and charters heretofore granted to them by our late royal progenitors Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory: And whereas we are given to understand that of late divers disorders and inconveniences have been committed as well by our own subjects as foreigners, to the great prejudice of the said Company, and interruption of their trade, whereupon they have humbly besought us to grant and confirm their said charters, with some alterations and additions, tending to the benefit and advancement of their trade and traffick." As it would be superfluous to give any analysis of the contents of this charter, in so far as it merely repeats and confirms those previously granted, it is necessary only to attend to the alterations and additions, several of which are very important.

Its leading provisions.

In regard to duration no change is made, the only limit to perpetuity being, as before, a three years' notice; but an alteration affecting the very constitution of the Company is produced by a clause which, abolishing the right which every member had hitherto enjoyed of giving one and no more than one vote, provides that in future "every person shall have a number of votes according to his stock, that is to say, for every £500 by him subscribed or brought into the present stock, one vote;" and that "any of those that have subscribed or brought less than £500 may give their respective sums to make up £500, and have one vote jointly for the same."

By another series of still more important clauses the strictly mercantile character of the Company was revolutionized, and full provision made for the

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A.D. 1660.

large exercise of judicial and even political functions. Thus "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies, where the said Company's factories and trade are, or shall be in the East Indies, shall be immediately and from henceforth under the power and command of the said governor and Company," with "full power and authority to appoint and establish governors, and all other officers to govern them." The extent of the authority thus conferred is explained by its being added, that in each factory or place of trade the governor and his council "may have power to judge all persons belonging to the said governor and Company, or that shall live under them, in all causes whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of this kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly." As there might be factories where there were no governor and council, the chief factor and his council in such places were empowered, when any crime or misdemeanour was committed, "to transmit the party, together with the offence, to such other plantation, factory, or fort, where there is a governor and council, where justice may be executed, or into this kingdom of England, as shall be thought most convenient." One can hardly help remarking how very absolute these powers are, and how very liable they must have been to abuse. One of the most frequent forms of alleged misdemeanour must have been the invasion of the Company's exclusive privileges. In all such cases, the Company were the complaining parties; and hence, in violation of all recognized rules of judicial procedure—at least under governments not actually despotic—they were in fact constituted judges in their own cause.

Judicial powers.

Military and political powers.

The military and political privileges conferred are, if possible, still more ample. They include "free liberty and license for the said governor and Company, in case they conceive it necessary to send either ships of war, men, or ammunition into any their factories, or other places of their trade in the said East Indies, for the security and defence of the same; and to choose commanders and officers over them, and to give them power and authority by commissions under their common seal or otherwise, to continue or make peace or war with any prince or people that are not Christians in any places of their trade, or shall be most for the advantage and benefit of the said governor and Company and of their trade; and also to right and recompence themselves upon the goods, estate, or people of these parts, by whom the said governor and Company may sustain any injury, loss, or damage, or upon any other people whatsoever that shall any ways interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their said trade within the said places, territories, and limits." Authority, moreover, is given "to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies or plantations at St. Helena, as also elsewhere" within their limits and bounds of trade, "as they in their discretions shall think fit and requisite; and for the supplying of such as shall be requisite to keep and be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles," &c., "all kind of clothing, provision of victuals, ammunition, and implements necessary for such purpose, without paying of any custom, subsidy, or

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other duty for the same; as also to transport and carry over such number of men, being willing thereunto, as they shall think fit." A.D. 1660.

The invasion of the exclusive privileges of the charter by unlicensed traders had occupied too much of the attention of the Company, and had too often been the subject of petition and complaint to the crown, to allow it to be overlooked. Several minute and stringent clauses are accordingly devoted to it. Thus "full power and lawful authority" is given "to seize upon the persons of all such English, or any other our subjects in the said East Indies, which shall sail in any India or English vessel, or inhabit in those parts, without the leave and license" of the Company, "or that shall contemn or disobey their orders, and send them to England." The only security against the abuse of these enormous powers was an appeal, but the exercise of it was attended with consequences which must have made it a mockery; for the moment an appeal was entered the Company were empowered "to seize upon" the person or persons convicted and sentenced, "and to carry him or them home prisoners into England." As unlicensed traders were not the only persons of whom the Company were apprehensive, it was provided that "for the better discovery of injuries and abuses to be done unto the said governor and Company, or their successors, by any of their servants by them employed in the said East Indies or voyages thither, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and Company, and their respective presidents, chief agent, or governor in the said East Indies, to examine upon oath all factors, masters, pursers, supercargoes, commanders of castles, forts, fortifications, plantations, or colonies, or other person, touching or concerning any matter or thing as to which by law and usage an oath may be administered." In spite of all these precautions, it was still possible that by smuggling or otherwise the exclusive privileges conferred by the charter might be invaded; and therefore, as an additional security, custom-house officers are enjoined not to "permit any entries to be made of any goods or merchandizes of the growth, production, or manufacture of the ports or places aforesaid in Asia, Africa, and America, above limited or appropriated to the trade of the said governor and Company, other than such as from time to time shall be allowed of by the said governor and Company, or their successors, under their common seal, or the hand of the officer to be by them appointed to sit in the custom-house for that purpose." Thus the Company who not many years before had been threatened with utter extinction, had obtained a charter in which the crown, for the purpose of making their privileges as ample as possible, stretched its prerogative to the very utmost, and took every imaginable precaution for their security both at home and abroad. The suppression of unlicensed trading.

At this very time when the Company seemed about to enter on a new course of prosperity, a severe shock was given to their trade in Bengal by the rashness of their agent at Hooghly. Irritated beyond measure at the oppression practised or countenanced by the governor, he resolved to take the remedy into his own Threatened hostilities in Bengal.

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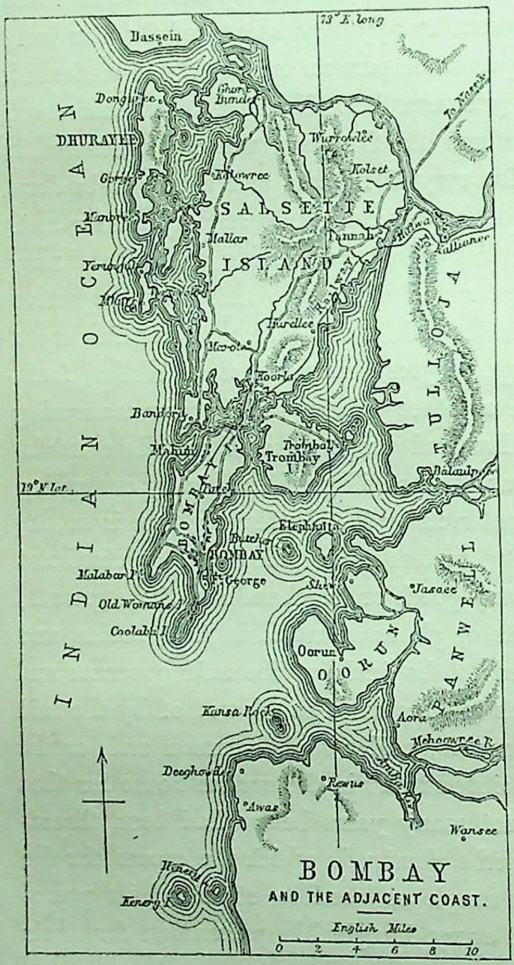
A.D. 1662. hands, and seized a country junk in the Ganges with the determination to hold it as a security. Mir Jumla, the celebrated Mogul general, immediately threatened to retaliate both on the inland agencies and on their factory at Hooghly. The agent, now terrified at the result of his own boldness, sought counsel from the president and council of Surat, who directed him at once to repair and re-deliver the junk; and in the event of this concession not being deemed sufficient, to prepare for shipping all the Company's property and leaving the place. In sending these orders, the members of the Surat council put the agent on his guard against the wiles of the Mogul officers, who, they assured him, "usually offered civilities at the very moment when they intended to have recourse to violence and depredation." The dispute was ultimately arranged, and the desperate measure of withdrawing entirely from Bengal was of course abandoned.

Acquisition of Bombay by the crown.



While the Company were thus threatened in the east of India, their footing in the west was about to become far firmer than it ever had been before by an event to which it is now necessary to attend. In June, 1661, two months after granting the above charter, Charles II. married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, and obtained, as part of her dowry, "the port and island Bombay in the East Indies, together with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances thereof whatsoever." The island of Bombay, stretching eight miles from north-east to south-west, with an average breadth of three miles, has an estimated area of little more than eighteen square miles. Its value, however, must not be judged by its superficial extent. By land-locking a deep bay in a central locality, it forms the very best harbour in India. The use of such a harbour had long been earnestly desired by the Company; and it was now secured in the best possible form by becoming the property of the British crown, and consequently not liable to be interfered with on any pretext by the native powers.

In March, 1662, the English government despatched to the East Indies a

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fleet of five men-of-war, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough. On board the fleet were a viceroy from Portugal, authorized formally to complete the cession of the island, and Sir Abraham Shipman, with 500 soldiers, to take possession and thereafter remain as the first English governor. No opposition appears to have been anticipated; but the Portuguese at Bombay, naturally unwilling to be handed over to a foreign power, took advantage of some ambiguities in the treaty by which the island was ceded, and refused to deliver it up. The English were themselves partly to blame for the unexpected opposition, because instead of being satisfied with the "port and island Bombay," which was all that the treaty with Portugal expressly granted, they insisted that this grant conferred with it a right to all the Portuguese stations in that locality, and more especially to the island of Salsette, only separated from Bombay by a narrow channel. The claim was certainly extravagant, as Salsette, thus represented as an *accessory* to Bombay, has an area of 150 square miles, and is consequently eight times larger than the *principal*.

A.D. 1662.

Difficulties in obtaining possession of Bombay.

Temporary occupation of Anjedivah.

The whole business was grossly mismanaged; and ultimately the English, prohibited from landing, and unwilling or unable to effect it by force, were obliged to look out for some other station where they might obtain refreshments, and employ proper remedies to diminish the mortality which, in consequence of protracted confinement in the ships, was now making fearful ravages. In this emergency application was made to Sir George Oxinden, who had been sent out by the Company as president and chief director of all their affairs "at Surat, and all others their factories in the north parts of India from Zeilon to the Red Sea," for permission to land the troops at Surat, but even this could not be granted for fear of offending the Mogul; and Sir Abraham Shipman was reduced to the necessity of landing the troops on the island of Anjedivah, fifty miles south-east from Goa, where numbers of them perished. The Earl of Marlborough had in the meantime left them to their fate, and sailed for England.

These untoward events seriously affected the prospects of the Company. They had hoped much from the presence of the ships of war, which they thought would have the effect of procuring them more respect from the native powers, and of intimidating the Dutch, who were now openly aspiring at an ascendency on the Indian coast as complete as that which they had established in the Eastern islands. It had even been expected that the king's ships might have been made instrumental in opening up new mercantile channels to the Company by receiving on freight Portuguese investments from Goa, and thus forming the commencement of a carrying trade which might yield lucrative returns. The failure of the expedition to Bombay disappointed all these expectations, and for some time the Company appear to have done little more than employ their servants in giving effect to the new clauses in their charter for the hunting down of those whom they stigmatized as interlopers. Indirectly,

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A.D. 1664. however, the failure of the Bombay expedition proved rather a gain than a loss to the Company, as it was doubtless one main cause of the transfer which the crown afterwards made to them of all the rights in India conferred by the marriage treaty. Indeed, Sir Abraham Shipman, while his men were wasting away at Anjedivah, made a voluntary offer of Bombay to the Company. In this he undoubtedly exceeded his powers; and Sir George Oxinden, to whom the offer was made, was too prudent to accept a grant to which, even if the Company had approved, legal effect could not be given. At the same time, it might have been foreseen that the acceptance was only postponed, and that the crown, burdened with the expense which the possession of the island could not but entail, would ere long require little inducement to part with it.

Company not yet alive to the importance of Bengal.

During several subsequent years the transactions of the Company are very imperfectly recorded. The reason may have been because they were comparatively insignificant. The same fleet which had brought Sir George Oxinden as president to Surat, had carried Sir Edward Winter as agent to Fort St. George. Besides that locality and the stations connected with it, all the agencies and factories in Bengal were placed under his immediate superintendence; and he had exerted himself apparently with good effect in adjusting the quarrel with Mir Jumla. Still, no idea appears to have been entertained of the vast expansion which the Company's traffic was destined to assume in that quarter; and hence, while distant outposts were eagerly sought after, and the English monarch was importuned for letters to his royal brother of Bantam, whenever retrenchment became expedient, and a contraction of the sphere of operations was proposed, Bengal is almost invariably brought forward as the quarter where the experiment might be made with the least risk of injurious consequences. In accordance with this view orders were given, in 1663, to discontinue the factories which had been established at Patna, Cossimbazar, and Balasore, in order that all sales and purchases on the Company's account in Bengal might in future be made only at Hooghly. When the Company are seen thus voluntarily withdrawing from the province within which the capital of their Indian empire was afterwards to be established, it is difficult to refrain from observing how little they are entitled to take credit for foresight. In fact, they were not so much the architects as the unconscious instruments of their future fortune.

Surat pillaged by Sevajee.

The year after the Company had thus begun, as it were, to turn their backs on Bengal, an event took place which produced general consternation. The Mahratta chieftain Sevajee, dexterously out-manœuvring the troops of Aurungzebe in the manner which has already been described, had advanced within fifteen miles of Surat on the 5th of January, 1664, before any tidings of his movements had been obtained. The town was then surrounded, not as at present by a brick, but by a mud wall; and hence no effectual resistance could be made when Sevajee entered it at the head of 4000 horse. The inhabitants

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A.D. 1665.

allowed themselves to be systematically plundered during six days—Sevajee, according to the account of one Smith, an Englishman, who was taken prisoner and carried before him, sitting outside the town in his tent ordering heads and hands to be chopped off in cases where persons were supposed to be concealing their wealth. While the natives were thus pusillanimous, a better spirit was displayed by the inmates both of the Dutch and English factories. The English, in particular, greatly distinguished themselves. Having put their factory in as good a state of defence as the shortness of the time allowed, and called in the aid of their ships' crews, they met Sevajee's demands and threats with defiance; and when a number of Mahrattas, without venturing on an assault, forced their way into an adjoining house, a sally was made which dislodged them. By this valiant conduct the English saved not only their own property, but that of many natives whom they had taken under their protection, and rose high in the estimation of Aurungzebe himself, who granted them a firman exempting them for ever from a portion of the customs paid by other nations, and also from all transit charges. The visit of Sevajee, which at first threatened the Company with the loss of all their property at Surat,

The Mahrattas repulsed by the English.

GENERAL VIEW OF SURAT.—From Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

estimated at £80,000, was thus eventually the indirect means of procuring for them important advantages.

Alarm from a Dutch war, and a French East India Company.

In 1665, the politics of Europe again assumed a threatening appearance. A Dutch war was evidently impending. The Company, well aware that, in that event, the Dutch would sweep the Indian seas, scarcely ventured to prepare an outward voyage, and contented themselves with instructing their agents in India to make all possible haste in completing their investments, and despatching the homeward bound ships. Nor was a Dutch war the only source of their anxiety, as new competitors, who were afterwards to prove the most formidable of all, were about to enter the field. The French had long had an eye to the Indian traffic; and an exclusive company, sharing largely in royal patronage, and invested with important privileges, had been formed. This company had

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A.D. 1665.

hitherto rested satisfied with promising great things without attempting to perform them; but a new spirit having been infused into it, it was now about to act in earnest, and on an extensive scale. On the very first voyage eight vessels well armed, so as to be equally prepared for war and commerce, had been despatched. Made aware of the fact only by imperfect rumours, the London Company were at first apprehensive, from the arming of the vessels, that piratical objects might be intended; and sent out instructions that the homeward ships should sail as a fleet, and be provided with the means of defence. On being better informed, they deemed it necessary only to inculcate the necessity of using caution, and guarding against misunderstandings which might lead to discussions between the two crowns. While giving these judicious counsels the court gave evident indications of uneasiness, and used language which might be interpreted into an instinctive foreboding of the great struggle which the two nations were afterwards to wage for supremacy in the East.

Violent internal dissensions at Madras.

In the desire which the Company now felt for fortified stations, they had overlooked one danger. Their object was to secure an asylum against external foes, and it seems never to have occurred to them that foes of a different kind might arise and turn the fortifications against their own employers. A remarkable case of this kind now occurred. Sir Edward Winter had, as already mentioned, been appointed head of the Company's establishment at Madras, and, by their instructions, had added considerably to the strength of Fort St. George. His subsequent conduct had not given satisfaction; and, under the impression that he was endeavouring to enrich himself by private trade, the court had superseded him, and sent out Mr. George Foxcroft as his successor. On that gentleman's arrival in June, 1665, he was received with all due respect, and took his place at the head of the council, while his predecessor, agreeably to his instructions, continued, in the interval previous to departure, to act as his second. Sir Edward Winter, though his term for office was nearly expired, had been deeply offended at his dismissal; and while continuing to officiate in the council, had been constantly on the alert to detect something in the conduct or language of his successor on which he might found a charge against him. While under the influence of such feelings, he probably had little difficulty in finding what he wanted; and accordingly, Mr. Foxcroft, three months after his arrival, was attacked and violently carried off to prison, on the extraordinary ground of having uttered seditious and treasonable expressions against the king's government. During the scuffle caused by the apprehension, a Mr. Dawes, a member of the council, lost his life, and Mr. Foxcroft himself, together with his son and Mr. Sambrooke, another member of council, was wounded.

Its government usurped by Sir Edward Winter.

After this outrageous proceeding, Sir Edward Winter was too far committed to be deterred by any other irregularity, and he at once re-assumed the government. It seems that he was not without supporters, for he succeeded in forming a council, including among its members the lieutenant of the garrison.

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During this internal strife, there was no small risk that the fort itself would be lost to the Company. The Dutch, now at war with England—the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, offended by the course of proceedings at Bombay—and the King of Golconda—were all anxious to obtain possession of it. The last had even taken steps for that purpose, and was meditating an attack by one of his officers, when he was called away for still more urgent service. A.D. 1665.

Sir Edward Winter at first took credit for loyalty to his sovereign and disinterested zeal to promote the interests of the Company, and endeavoured to justify himself by numerous letters addressed to influential quarters; among others, it is said, to the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury. His conduct, however, had been too gross to admit of apology; and on finding that, with the sanction of government, force was about to be employed against him, he managed, after persisting several years in rebellion, to obtain a free pardon, and disappeared from the scene. The leniency with which he was treated says little for the wisdom and vigour of the Company's management at this period, and was doubtless an incentive to similar acts of rebellion on subsequent occasions.

Sir Abraham Shipman, after making an offer of Bombay to the Company, as has been already mentioned, had continued with his troops at Anjedivah, enduring the misery of seeing them dying around him. At last, in 1664, he himself became one of the victims. Mr. Cooke, who had been his secretary, assumed the command; and, under the conviction that it was the only chance of saving the lives of the soldiers still surviving, entered into a convention with the Viceroy of Goa, by which he agreed to accept of the port and island of Bombay, according to the treaty as interpreted by the Portuguese. In one respect the terms were even worse than those originally offered to the Earl of Marlborough, for, by an additional article not then mentioned, the Portuguese resident in Bombay were, along with other liberties, to be exempted from the payment of customs. When the survivors on Anjedivah left for Bombay, their numbers did not much exceed 100; the expense incurred by government for the pay and maintenance of the troops, from the date of their embarkation in England, was above £13,000. Convention with the Portuguese respecting Bombay

Mr. Cooke's convention with the Portuguese was no sooner known in England than it was disavowed; and, with the view of carrying out the cession as the English had interpreted it, Sir Gervase Lucas was appointed governor of Bombay. Before he sailed he drew up a report, founded on the documents transmitted by Mr. Cooke, and gave it as his opinion that the annual expense of the garrison necessary for the island would, without including contingencies, amount to at least £7371, and that, moreover, a large outlay for new stores would be immediately required. This report appears to have made government doubtful as to the propriety of continuing to retain Bombay as an immediate possession of the crown. As yet it had yielded nothing, though it had already cost much, and was apparently about to cost more. The conclusion therefore disavowed in England.

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A.D. 1666.

was, that in the meantime "it would be improper to incur any great expense upon it," and that the whole establishment should be placed on a very narrow and economical footing.

Sir Gervase Lucas appointed governor of Bombay.

Sir Gervase Lucas arrived at Bombay on 5th November, 1666, and, on assuming the government, found matters in a still worse state than his inquiries before leaving England had led him to anticipate. The Mogul government, when they saw the English in possession of an island which they were preparing to fortify, and which, by its natural position, might control the trade of Surat, became extremely jealous, and openly expressed their displeasure, especially after learning that an invitation had been given to the native merchants to settle at Bombay under British protection. The misunderstanding thus commenced was brought almost to an open rupture when Mr. Cooke, in order to compensate himself for some loss sustained during the pillage of Surat by Sevajee, took the unwarrantable step of seizing a Mogul junk which stress of weather had forced to seek shelter in Bombay harbour. This junk belonged to the governor of Surat, who instantly threatened to retaliate on the English factory. Sir George Oxinden remonstrated with Mr. Cooke, who, in consenting to restore the junk, took occasion to inform Sir George that he considered himself, as a king's servant, in a higher and more independent position than one who was the servant only of a company. The question thus raised was at a later period revived, and led to considerable embarrassment. Sir Gervase Lucas, while condemning many parts of Mr. Cooke's conduct, agreed with him on the subject of precedence. The misunderstandings and jealousies which in consequence arose, were injurious to the interests both of the crown and the Company. To the latter, however, the ultimate result was favourable, as the difficulty of procuring a cordial co-operation between the two services must have been an additional inducement to the crown to shake itself free of all further responsibility in regard to Bombay. Before giving an account of the step by which this was finally accomplished, it will be proper to refer to several incidents which occurred about this time, and are of sufficient interest to deserve special notice.

Important constitutional question.

The first of these is a celebrated lawsuit in which the Company became involved, in 1666, by the zealous endeavours of their servants to put down unlicensed trading. Frederick Skinner was agent for the merchant adventurers at Jambi, on the north-east coast of Sumatra, and, on the union of the companies, quitted the district, after making over his assets and debts to the united stock. His brother, Thomas Skinner, who had apparently entered into possession of Frederick's effects, continued to trade as a merchant on his own account. A ship and merchandise belonging to him having been discovered by the servants of the Company, was forcibly seized, by the aid of the Sultan of Jambi. The grounds of seizure were apparently of two kinds—the one that the property in question belonged not to him, but to the Company, to whom it had been, or ought to have been given up by Frederick Skinner; the other

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that, as the vessel was trading without license within the limits of the Company's charter, both it and the goods found in it were forfeited. In terms of the charter, the judgment thus pronounced was subject to review, and Skinner, on making his appeal, was entitled to insist that, for the purpose of carrying it out, he should be sent home in one of the Company's ships to England. This, however, was refused, and he was left to make his way to Europe as he best could, by an overland journey. His complaint, presented at first to the government, was referred successively to a committee of the council, and to the House of Peers. The Company, when ordered to answer, declined, on the ground that the House of Peers had no primary jurisdiction, and could only judge by appeal in the last resort. The lords found that they had jurisdiction, and peremptorily ordered the Company to plead. On their continued refusal judgment was given against them, to the amount of £5000. The Company's plea raised a great constitutional question, which, on their petition, was keenly taken up by the House of Commons and decided in the Company's favour. Two branches of the legislature were thus diametrically opposed, and carried on the dispute with more temper than judgment. When Skinner attempted to enforce the judgment, the commons interfered and sent him a prisoner to the Tower. The lords were not slow to follow this bad example, and imprisoned the governor, Sir Samuel Barnadiston, and three other members of the court. Not satisfied with this, they declared the petition of the Company to the commons to be false and scandalous, and the commons retaliated by resolving that any one who should execute the judgment in Skinner's favour was a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England. The controversy threatened to be interminable, and was not settled till parliament had been adjourned seven times. At last the king held a conference with both houses at Whitehall, and succeeded, by personal persuasion, in inducing them to erase all the proceedings from their journals. In one sense this gave the Company the victory, as the judgment against them was not enforced, and Skinner remained without redress.

A.D. 1667.

Important constitutional question.

The next event of this period deserving of particular notice, is the general peace concluded by the treaty of Breda, 31st July, 1667. To this treaty Britain, France, Holland, and Denmark were parties. The benefit which commerce in general derived from the cessation of hostilities could not but be felt by the London East India Company. It was not, however, without alloy. The principle adopted in framing the treaty was that of *uti possidetis*, which of course left the parties, in regard to possession, exactly as they stood at its date. In the case of the Company, the effect was that they finally lost the islands of Polaroon and Damm, because, in the course of the war, the Dutch had availed themselves of their naval superiority to capture them. The loss seemed the more grievous because the Company had been sanguine enough to expect that, by the possession of them, they might be able to secure a share in the envied spice trade. So intent were they on this object that, even after these islands

Conditions of the treaty of Breda.

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A.D. 1669. were wrested from them, they continued to maintain an unavailing struggle against the ascendency which the Dutch had established in the Indian Archipelago. The only consolation which the Company received was, that the loss which they sustained by the Breda treaty was not so serious as they apprehended when first made acquainted with its terms. During the usurpation of Sir Edward Winter at Fort St. George, information had been received that he was in communication with the Dutch governor of Ceylon, and contemplating the delivery of the fort. Had this act of treachery been completed, the rule of *uti possidetis* would have covered it, and thus one of the three seats of the presidencies acquired by the Company would in all probability have been lost to them for ever.

Tea begins to form an investment

The only other incident of this period which it is necessary to notice is of a strictly commercial nature, and yet, when its consequences are traced, it will be found to have had a far mightier influence, not merely on the fortunes of the Company, but on society at large, than any single event, military or political, which occurred in the seventeenth century. In a letter dated 24th January, 1668, and sent out with the Company's ships which made the voyage of that year, the agent at Bantam is desired "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. waight of the best tey that you oan gett." The language evidently implies that the article was already understood; and it is known that several years before, an order had been given to obtain small quantities of tea as a present to his majesty; but this is the first instance of a *public* order, and an order given, it is presumed, for the purpose not of making presents of it as a mere curiosity, but of ascertaining whether it might not become an article of lucrative investment. Within a century of the date of this order, the quantity imported by the Company approached 3,000,000 lbs.; and in 1834, the last year of the Company's monopoly, it exceeded 33,000,000 lbs., and paid duty to government to the amount of £3,589,361. Since then the import into the United Kingdom has more than doubled.

Bombay granted to the Company.

On the 27th of March, 1669, the grant of the port and island of Bombay, which government had been for some time contemplating, was completed by a regular charter, issued as usual in the form of letters-patent addressed by the king to all his subjects. After stating the nature and extent of the right acquired by the marriage treaty from the Portuguese, eulogizing the Company for having managed the trade to the East Indies "to the honour and profit of the nation," and expressing "an earnest desire that the said governor and Company may, by all good and lawful ways and means, be encouraged in their difficult and hazardous trade and traffick in those remote parts of the world," his majesty bestows the island and its appurtenances upon them "in as large and ample a manner, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as we ourselves now have and enjoy, or may or ought to enjoy the same, by virtue and force of the said grant of our said brother the King of Portugal," constituting them

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"the true and absolute proprietors of the port and island, and premises aforesaid, and every part and parcel thereof." Along with the island were granted "all the artillery, and all and singular arms, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, victuals, magazines, stores, ammunition, and provisions of war, and other provisions whatsoever; and all and singular ships, junks, vessels, and boats, and all manner of merchandize, and wares, cloathing, implements, beasts," &c., "which shall be or remain upon within the premises, or any part of thereof, and belong unto us at the time when the said port and island and premises shall be delivered up into the possession of the said governor and Company." Power was, moreover, given them "to take into their service, at their own costs and charges, such and so many of our officers and soldiers as shall then be in or upon the said port or island, or within the territories and precincts thereof, as they shall think fit, and as shall be contented or willing to serve them either in the said port and island or elsewhere."

A.D. 1669

Terms of the grant.

The port and island thus granted were to be held of the crown "as of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite* nor by knight's service, yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, at the custom-house, London, the rent or sum of ten pounds of lawful money of England, in gold, on the thirtieth day of September yearly, for ever." The only restrictions and reservations of any importance were, that the Company should not "at any time hereafter sell, alien, transfer, or otherwise dispose of the said island and premises, or any part or parts thereof, to any prince, potentate, or state, or other person or persons whatsoever, but such as are or shall be the subjects and of the allegiance" of the British crown, and that "the inhabitants of the said island, as our liege people, and subject to our imperial crown and dignity, jurisdiction and government, shall be permitted to remain there, and enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as they did at the time of the said grant to us made by our said brother the King of Portugal as aforesaid, and that such order be observed for the exercise and conservation thereof in all things according to the purport and effect of the said article and treaty in that behalf; and further, also, that the said inhabitants, and other our subjects in the said port or island, shall and may peaceably and quietly have, hold, possess, and enjoy all their several and respective properties, privileges, and advantages whatsoever, which they or any of them lawfully had or enjoyed, or ought to have had or enjoyed, at the time of the surrender of the said port and island to us as aforesaid, or at any time since."

Restrictions and reservations.

All the inhabitants of Bombay, together with all afterwards born in it, or within its precincts and limits, were to have and enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects under the government of the Company, who were to have full power to exercise judicial authority by themselves, their ministers, and agents, to repel force by force, by sea and land, in case of open hostilities

Judicial authority.

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A.D 1669 with foreign enemies; and "in cases of rebellion, mutiny, or sedition, of refusing to serve in wars, fleeing to the enemy, forsaking colours or ensigns, or other offences against law, custom, and discipline military, in as large and ample a manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever as any captain-general by virtue of his office might do."

The very liberal terms on which Charles II. conferred Bombay on the Company, and the very ample powers with which he invested them for the purpose of governing it, justify a suspicion that the act was not quite so disinterested as has been represented, and that the Company had already begun the practice they afterwards followed of smoothing the difficulties in their way by the free distribution of money in influential quarters. They did this to an enormous extent, as will afterwards be seen, in the comparatively pure period which immediately followed the Revolution, and endeavoured to justify it by alleging that it had long been customary. If so, it is not uncharitable to presume that Charles and his corrupt courtiers did not allow the custom to be forgotten in this instance. But whether obtained by a free grant or a corrupt bargain, the port and island of Bombay was unquestionably the most important acquisition which the Company had yet made. Even in a pecuniary view its value was by no means contemptible. According to a statement transmitted to the British government by the deputy-governor, Captain Gary, the year before the Company entered into possession, the annual revenue, derived principally from rent, produce, and customs, amounted to £6490, 17*s.* 9*d.* It was understood that this amount might be largely increased; and consequently that in Bombay the Company had not only acquired a position which might be rendered impregnable by land and sea, but a revenue which, duly husbanded, might meet all the outlay necessary for fortifications and other improvements. The brightening prospect thus opened appears to have emboldened the Company greatly to extend their operations, and their investments became larger than at any former period.

Probable inducements to the grant.

CHAPTER VI.

Administration and progress of Bombay—Difficulties—State of the other settlements of the Company.

BOMBAY was at first made subordinate to Surat. Sir George Oxinden, though still continuing to reside and hold his position as president at the latter, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the former; but at the same time authorized to send one of the members of his council, as deputy-governor, personally to administer the affairs of the island. With this view a series of directions had been drawn up by the court in England. The fort or castle was

Projected improvements at Bombay.

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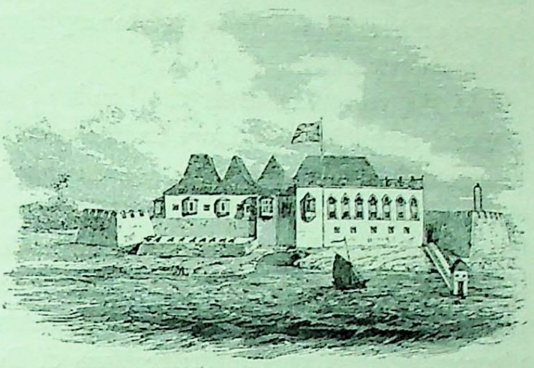
to be enlarged and strengthened; a town, so situated as to be under its protection, was to be built on a regular plan; inhabitants were to be induced to settle by exemptions from customs; and while the English were to be preferred, others also were to be encouraged by the free exercise of their religion. The improvement of the revenue, so far as practicable, without imposing new and burdensome taxes, was not to be forgotten. To foster manufactures of cotton and silk goods, looms were to be purchased for the weavers; and to give new facilities to commerce, a harbour and docks were to be constructed. A.D. 1669.



ENGLISH FORT, BOMBAY.—Churchill's Voyages.

Before much progress could be made in carrying out these arrangements, several untoward events took place, and new difficulties arose from various quarters. The Portuguese, who had never been reconciled to the cession of Bombay, endeavoured to render it as little lucrative as possible to its new possessors, by taking advantage of their position at Tanna to impose heavy transit duties on all goods passing through it to or from Bombay; the trade of which was in consequence greatly crippled, as Tanna, situated at the head of Bombay harbour, commanded the only proper line of communication with the mainland. While an important branch of traffic was thus in a manner interdicted, the trade of Surat was again suspended by an incursion of Sevajee. Immediately after his former visit, a substantial wall of brick, flanked with bastions, had been commenced and was approaching completion, but as much still remained open as to make it easy for Sevajee to penetrate into the heart of the town and resume his work of plunder. Besides the English and Dutch, there was now also a French factory. The last showed no fight, but obtained an ignominious exemption by giving the Mahrattas a free passage through their factory, and thus enabling them to obtain a rich booty by the plunder of a Tartar prince who had returned by way of Surat from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Dutch stood upon the defensive, and seemed so well prepared that they were allowed to escape. The English, under President Aungier, who had succeeded on the death of Sir George Oxinden, distinguished themselves as before by beating off repeated attacks. On this occasion, however, they were not so fortunate as to obtain the approbation of the Moguls. Sevajee, before he retired, had opened a friendly negotiation with the English, and several conferences had been held with the view of arranging the re-establishment of the Company's factory at Rajahpore. Sevajee was anxious to secure the revenue which had

Drawbacks

Surat again pillaged by Sevajee.

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A.D. 1673. been lost by the withdrawal of the factory, and the presidency at Surat were disposed to consent, provided they could obtain compensation for past and security against future injuries. These conferences were not unobserved by the Mogul authorities, and gave rise to suspicions, of which the results afterwards became apparent.

War with the Dutch and alliance with France.

At the very time when the bonds of amity with the Moguls were thus loosened, the politics of Europe had been undergoing a change which threatened to expose the Company once more to an unequal contest with the Dutch. Hostilities were in fact declared; but, at the same time, by the alliance of England with France, which had now a considerable fleet in the East, the interests of the Company were better protected than formerly. With a wise precaution, however, they endeavoured to make themselves independent of foreign aid, and vigorously pushed on the fortifications of Bombay. They were thus engaged, but the works were far from completed and very inadequately garrisoned, when, in February, 1673, Rickloff van Goen, the Dutch Governor-general of India, made his appearance on the coast with a fleet of twenty-two ships, having 1000 regular troops on board. Bombay was evidently the object of attack, and could scarcely have resisted had it been made on the instant; but the Dutch lost time by endeavouring in vain to secure the co-operation of a land force under Sevajee, and when at last prepared for action, lost heart on seeing the kind of reception which awaited them. President Aungier, who fortunately happened to be in Bombay at the time, exerted himself, as Orme hyperbolically expresses it, "with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion." Besides 400 European soldiers, he succeeded in mustering 1500 militia, chiefly Portuguese and natives. Nor was he destitute of a marine force. In the harbour lay two frigates, a Dutch prize fitted up as a ship of war, and three armed sloops which had been lately built as a protection against the Malabar pirates; to this force a most important addition was opportunely made by the arrival of four French ships, which, on being informed of the danger, had hastened from Surat. Rickloff, under these circumstances, satisfied himself with reconnoitring, and then suddenly disappeared.

Bombay threatened.

Madras threatened

On the Coromandel coast the Dutch had excited similar alarm, and great fears were entertained for the safety of Fort St. George. Here, however, the French again proved important auxiliaries, and by means of a powerful fleet not only kept the Dutch in check, but made themselves masters of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, and took St. Thomé by storm. The latter capture, as the place is situated only at a short distance from Madras, gave the Company more alarm than satisfaction, and they were therefore not displeased when, after a short tenure, the French were expelled and St. Thomé returned to the possession of the King of Golconda. Another success of the Dutch gave them deeper concern. On the 22d of August, 1673, the Dutch fleet engaged in the siege of St. Thomé fell in with the Company's homeward bound ships, ten in number, and

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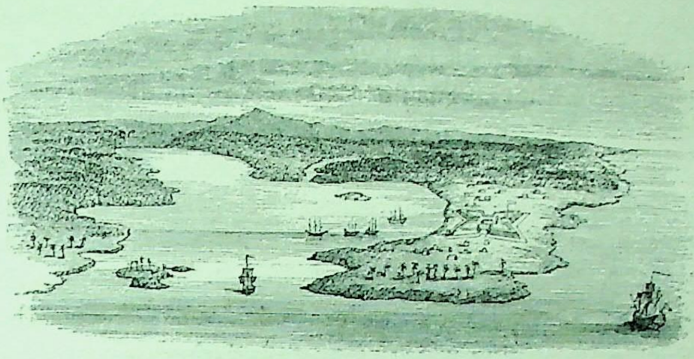
richly laden. A running fight commenced off the coast to the south of Masulipatam, and issued in the sinking of one and the capture of two of the Company's vessels. The others, though not without sustaining considerable damage, found their way to Madras. In the Indian Archipelago, where the Dutch superiority was still more decided, it was impossible for the Company to traffic with any advantage, though they were now alive to the importance of carrying their trade still farther east, and endeavouring to establish that direct intercourse with China from which, in course of time, their chief, if not their only commercial profits were derived. A.D. 1674



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF TRINCOMALEE.—Churchill's Voyages.

The danger to which Bombay had been exposed from the Dutch ceased entirely in consequence of a new whirl in European politics, by which, in 1674, peace was concluded, and shortly after happily cemented by the marriage of the Prince of Orange with Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. Another danger, however, immediately succeeded. The Moguls and the Mahrattas were constantly at war; and now that the English, by the possession of an island belonging to neither, were gradually beginning to assume the dignity of an independent Indian power, their alliance was naturally courted by both. The true policy of the Company in the meantime was to maintain a perfect neutrality; but the circumstances were such as to make this almost impossible. The Mogul fleet, commanded by the Siddee, sought shelter from a storm in Bombay harbour. To refuse it was impossible, without provoking the Moguls; to grant it was equally impossible, without giving umbrage to Sevajee. In this dilemma the Bombay government took the only course which lay open to them, by allowing the Siddee to remain till the storm blew over, and then requesting him to depart. He refused to obey; and collecting his vessels in the channel which separates the island from the mainland, landed a number of armed men at the villages of Sion and Mazagong, and drove out the inhabitants, apparently with the intention of gaining a permanent footing on the island. This was not to be tolerated; and after desultory hostilities to the disadvantage of the Siddee, he purchased permission to prolong his stay by engaging that no more than 300 of his men, armed only with their swords, should be ashore at one time, and that he would make no attack on the Corlahs—a fertile district of the Concan, stretching along the eastern shore of Bombay harbour, and belonging to the Mahrattas.

Peace with Holland.

The Mogul fleet in Bombay harbour.

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A.D 1674.

Treaty with Sevajee.

Sevajee was naturally jealous of this arrangement, and though, from his anxiety to see the Company's factory again established at Rajahpore, he entered into a formal treaty with them, binding himself to compensate them for all the losses which they had sustained by his depredations, it soon became apparent that he was determined not to tolerate the continuance of a hostile fleet in his immediate vicinity. His first step was to send his general, Moro Punt, down the Ghauts with 10,000 men, to occupy Callianee or Kallian, opposite to the island of Salsette. By this movement he accomplished two objects—he levied chout on the Portuguese, who had greatly offended him by a fanatical attempt to force the Mahrattas within their territories to become Christians, and he overawed the Siddee, who, afraid for his fleet, made all haste to depart. Bombay harbour had, however, proved so convenient a station that the Siddee fleet, after a short cruise, during which many devastating descents had been made on the Mahratta coasts, again returned. The Bombay government having again permitted it to occupy its former station, Sevajee was greatly incensed, and resolved to rid himself of it at all hazards. With this view he at first collected a large fleet of boats within his own territory, on the east side of Bombay harbour; but finding the attack of the Siddee fleet in this manner impracticable, he made application to the Portuguese at Tanna for permission to cross over to Salsette, from which he anticipated little difficulty in finding access to Bombay itself. This permission being refused, he turned his attention to an opposite quarter, and dexterously availed himself of two small islands, called Kennery and Henery, situated so as to command the southern entrance of Bombay harbour. The natural strength of this position had hitherto been overlooked both by Portuguese and English; and when Sevajee had not only discovered it, but taken possession of Kennery, the larger of the two islands, and began to erect fortifications upon it, the greatest alarm prevailed. It was of no use to attempt negotiation, and therefore action was immediately resolved upon. The plan, however, was very defective, and in the first encounter the advantage was rather in favour of Sevajee's party. A second attempt would have been disastrous to the assailants had not the *Revenge*, the only English frigate present, kept her ground, and, after sinking five of the enemy's vessels, compelled the whole fleet of fifty to seek safety by flight. The Mahrattas still kept possession of Kennery, and, mounting several cannon, fired without much skill or effect. Meanwhile the Moguls, informed of the hostilities, expressed a desire to share in them, and sent a considerable fleet to Bombay. The dislodgment of the Mahrattas might now have been easy; but the English, having discovered that the Siddee, if he succeeded in capturing it, meant to keep it to himself, withheld their aid, and left the two native powers to fight it out as they best could. The struggle was in consequence protracted, and was not finished when Sevajee died in 1680.

Sevajee occupies Kennery.

Though war was thus raging in its vicinity, Bombay continued to make

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progress, and the propriety of substituting it for Surat, as the seat of the western presidency, had become so obvious as now to be regarded only as a question of time. Its fortifications had been carried on for a series of years without interruption, and, as early as 1674, mounted 100 pieces of cannon; its regular garrison consisted of two companies, each of 200 men; three companies of militia had been regularly organized; and several well-manned vessels were permanently stationed in its harbour. The progress would have been still more rapid had not a deficiency of funds induced the government to adopt rather questionable means of replenishing their treasury. The inhabitants were burdened with new taxation in the shape of excise duties, and both imports and exports were charged with customs equalling, and in some instances far exceeding those which the Great Mogul, in the plenitude of his power, levied either from his own subjects or from strangers. On imports, including corn, grain, and timber, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was to be levied as custom, and 1 per cent. to defray the expense of fortifications; on exports the customs alone was fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Some articles of little bulk but considerable value, as gold and silver, jewels, musk and amber, were the only exemptions, while Indian tobacco and Indian iron imported, and, still more unaccountably, the whole produce of the island (cocoanuts, salt, fish, &c.) exported, were saddled with a custom of 8 per cent. Some of these impositions almost look as if the object had been not to encourage trade, but to extinguish it. The only justification must be sought in the eager desire of the governor to show that the original estimate of the revenue from the island was not overrated, and that it was able not only to pay its expenses, but yield a surplus.

A.D. 1674.

Duties levied on imports and exports.

Mutiny in Bombay.

While the governor was thus taxing his ingenuity in the invention of new sources of revenue, Captain Shaxton, his deputy, was, if not actively encouraging, at least conniving at proceedings of a mutinous tendency. The principal grounds of complaint by the soldiers were, that their period of service, which was limited to three years, had expired, and that a month's pay, which had been promised them, had been withheld. On these grounds they threatened to lay down their arms. If the complaints were well founded, and it is to be presumed that they were, as Bruce in his *Annals* commends the prudence of President Aungier in granting the demands of the soldiers, it is not easy to see the justice of the praise which the same author bestows upon him for firmness in afterwards seizing the principal leaders and trying them, not by civil, but by martial law. The charter, it is true, authorized martial law, but it was surely both right and expedient that, in having recourse to it for the first time, the guilt should not only have been of a very aggravated description, but that, even after it was proved, judgment should have been tempered with mercy. Nothing of this is seen in President Aungier's proceedings. The men were promised pay and then refused it; they had served the full period for which they had enlisted, and insisted on their discharge. If the justice of the complaint could not be denied,

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A.D. 1676. the real fault was not in those who complained, but in the government who made it necessary. At all events, there was nothing in the conduct of the so-called mutineers to justify the sentence which condemned three of them to death, and which was actually carried into effect in the case of one of them. This first exercise of martial law in name of the Company took place on 21st October, 1674. Captain Shaxton, the worst culprit, if there was one, was next tried, and found guilty on several charges, but his station, though it only aggravated his offence, protected him, and he was sent to England to be dealt with as might there be deemed proper.

Principle of seniority established. The most memorable event in the history of the Company in 1676 was the formal adoption of the principle of *seniority* as the rule of succession to offices of trust and emolument. In the letter of the court to the presidency of Surat, the mode in which the principle was to be applied is thus stated:—"For the advancement of our apprentices, we direct that, after they have served for the first five yeares, they shall have £10 per annum for the two last yeares; and having served these two yeares, to be entertayned, one yeare longer, as writers, and have writers' sallary; and having served that yeare, to enter into the degree of factors, which otherwise would have been ten yeares. And knowing that a distinction of titles is in many respects necessary, we do order, that when apprentices have served their times, they be styled *writers;* and when writers have served their times, they be styled *factors;* and factors having served their times, to be styled *merchants;* and merchants having served their times, to be styled *senior merchants.*" By this arrangement many disputes as to advancement were obviated, and much discontent in consequence suppressed; but the principle of *seniority*, except in mere matters of routine, when the most ordinary qualifications combined with a sufficient amount of practice may suffice, is vicious in the extreme, because it removes all stimulus to exertion, and makes no account of either ability or industry. It is rather singular that in laying down this rule the court saw the necessity of departing from it in one very important particular, by holding out a kind of premium to military talent, enjoining all their civil servants "to apply themselves to acquire a knowledge of military discipline, that, in the event, either of any sudden attack, or of being found better qualified for military than for civil duties, they might receive commissions, and have the pay of military officers, till the pleasure of the court should be known."

Rival attempts on Bombay by the Siddee and Sevajee. In the course of the war carried on between the Moguls and the Mahrattas, the Siddee had made himself master of Henery in the same way as Sevajee had of Kennery; and thus by the negligent and irresolute conduct which the local authorities had pursued, Bombay was exposed to a double danger, and its prosperity was seriously interrupted. The court at home, greatly perplexed at the threatening aspect of affairs, seem not to have been equal to the emergency, and disregarding the danger of being ousted altogether, kept insisting on a number

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of petty deductions, which produced much discontent among their own servants, and imposed various new burdens which were loudly complained of by the other inhabitants. At the same time temporizing expedients became the order of the day; and both the Moguls and Mahrattas, emboldened by the pusillanimous spirit in which their encroachments were met, set no limits to their arrogance. As if Bombay had been set up as a prize to be contended for, they were now only intent on deciding whether Siddee or Sevajee was to be the winning party. It would almost seem that the Company were gradually making up their minds to some such disastrous and ignominious result; for, in the face of remonstrances from India, complaining of the reductions already made, and distinctly stating that without additional expenditure and reinforcements the island would be lost, the court intimated their final decision that the fortifications having been the source of the heaviest expense, were to be continued in their present state without further improvements—that the manning of the batteries was to be reduced to the lowest scale possible—and that, with the exception of one small frigate, the armed ships stationed for guarding the harbour were to be sold. The letter of the court, after putting the island in jeopardy by these most improvident and niggardly injunctions, ludicrously, or, as some would rather term it, insultingly, concludes with a recommendation to the governor to maintain strict discipline, and have the garrison always prepared for a vigorous defence.

A.D. 1683.

The Siddee and Sevajee.

The above letter, addressed in the beginning of 1679 to Surat, which, by the way, was also to furnish its quota of reduction, by being degraded from a presidency to the less expensive form of an agency, produced a remonstrance which made the court pause before proceeding further in their reckless career of retrenchment. Surat accordingly resumed its rank as a presidency, and Bombay obtained some slight addition to its garrison. The change of policy thus indicated unhappily proved evanescent; and though Sambajee, now at the head of the Mahrattas, in consequence of the death of his father, was known to have aggressive designs on Bombay, its garrison, in January, 1683, could barely muster 100 Europeans, clamouring for additional pay as absolutely necessary to furnish them with the means of subsistence. On a former occasion, when similar complaints were made, the only step taken was to tantalize the complainers by obtaining letters-patent from the crown for the establishment of a mint at Bombay, a measure which, however useful in itself, only increased the quantity of coin without giving them any larger share of it. On the present occasion the complaints were similarly treated; and the letter from home in 1684 was chiefly occupied with announcing the erection of a court of admiralty, the judge of which, appointed by royal commission, was to have jurisdiction as far as the Company's limits extended, and employ it specially for the suppression of unlicensed trading. In this arrangement Bombay was thus far interested, that it was not only to become the seat of the new court, but to be regarded in future

Injudicious retrenchment.

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A.D. 1683.

as an independent English settlement, and the seat of the power and trade of the English nation in the East Indies.

Keigwin's mutiny.

While the court at home were conferring this magniloquent title on Bombay, an event had taken place which threatened to render it a mockery. Captain Richard Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, in concert with Ensign Thornburn and others, suddenly, on the 27th December, 1683, seized Mr. Ward, the deputy-governor, and the members of council who adhered to him, and issued a proclamation annulling the authority of the Company, and declaring the island to be immediately under the protection of the King of England. Dissatisfaction with the treatment which he had received from Sir Josiah Child, and his brother, Mr., afterwards Sir John Child, who had obtained a complete ascendency, the one as governor of the Company and the other as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had tempted him to turn rebel, while the general discontent produced by the paltry reductions and other impolitic proceedings already adverted to, soon made the rebellion completely successful. With comparatively few exceptions the garrison and the inhabitants, when assembled, approved of his conduct, and recognized him as governor. The whole power of the island was thus in his hands. It is not easy to see on what grounds he could have imagined that his usurpation would receive any countenance in England; but as if he had been acting with the sanction of the crown, and with a single view to its interests, he required all the inhabitants to renew their allegiance to it, and proceeded to administer the government in its name. Immediately on hearing of the insurrection President Child despatched three of the Company's homeward bound ships from Surat, having on board commissioners authorized to take measures which it was thought would prove effectual. When they arrived the frenzy was at its height; and the crews of the ships, catching the infection, so far from assisting in suppressing the revolt, began openly to fraternize with the revolters. The commissioners, alarmed at this new danger, were glad to avert it by allowing the ships to continue their voyage. In the meantime they remained on board a country vessel.

Its alarming progress.

About a month after the insurrection broke out President Child arrived with three other Company's ships, and on finding from the spirit which prevailed both on the island and among his own crews, that force was out of the question, made lavish promises of pardon and redress of grievances. Keigwin listened to his proposals, but it was only to reject them; and after two months spent in unavailing conferences, the president despatched the ships to England, and with his commissioners returned crest-fallen to Surat, leaving the revolters still masters of the island. Keigwin, aware that appearances were entirely against him, drew up a justification, which he transmitted to the king and the Duke of York. His principal pleas were that by the misconduct of the parties intrusted with the management of the Company at home and abroad, Bombay was on the point of being lost, and nothing but the energetic measures

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which he had taken could have secured its continuance as a dependency of the British crown. A.D. 1683.

Investigation by a committee of secrecy.

On receiving intelligence of the Bombay revolt, and of the attempt which Keigwin had made to justify his proceedings, the Company appointed a committee of secrecy to communicate directly with the crown, and take whatever other measures might seem expedient. In a report specially addressed to the king, they asserted that so far from acting penuriously with their officers and soldiers, their pay and encouragements were superior to those which the Dutch granted to their troops; that their president and governor had given every indulgence to the garrison "compatible with the duty of rendering the revenues equal to the charges of the establishment;" and that, since they had entered to possession of the island, they had expended the sum of £300,000 on fortifications, an excellent harbour, and other improvements. In conclusion, they returned to an old complaint by blaming the interlopers as the main instigators to the revolt, endeavoured to arouse the jealousy of the king by reminding him that the revolters had attacked his prerogative by questioning the right of the crown to give exclusive privileges of trade without the authority of the legislature, and hinted that the revolt, so far from being caused by any undue use of their powers, was rather owing to a defect in the powers themselves, which did not permit them to deal summarily and effectually with delinquents.

Suppression of the mutiny.

During these proceedings in England, Keigwin continued not only to maintain his position, but obtained a recognition of his authority from Sambajee, with whom he negotiated a treaty giving the privilege of free trade within the Mahratta dominions. More than this, Sambajee consented to the payment of a considerable sum due to the Company. This treaty and payment, together with the alleged fact that the island was now entirely supported by its own revenue, furnished Keigwin with plausible grounds for maintaining that his proceedings had advanced the interests both of the crown and the Company. It was impossible, however, that he could be listened to; and despatches were sent off from England, with a commission under the great seal, directed to the president and councils at Surat and Bombay, and to the commanders of the Company's ships, to take the necessary steps for the recovery of the island. In the event of a peaceable delivery, a general pardon was to be proclaimed to all except Keigwin and other three ringleaders. As it seemed probable that force would be necessary, President Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the Company's sea and land forces, Sir Thomas Grantham vice-admiral, and the senior commander of the Company's ships rear-admiral. Though the revolt was the immediate occasion of these appointments, it will soon be seen that ulterior objects were contemplated by them. Indeed, the necessity of these appointments, so far as related to the revolt, had ceased before the knowledge of them had reached India, Keigwin having in the interval agreed to deliver up the island to Sir Thomas Grantham, on receiving a free pardon for himself and his

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A.D. 1684. associates. In terms of this arrangement, the island was formally surrendered on the 19th of November, 1684. In the beginning of the following year a new reign commenced by the death of Charles on 6th February, 1685, and the accession of James II. A great change in the policy of the Company immediately took place; but before tracing it, it will be proper to attend to the changes which had in the meanwhile been taking place in the other settlements of the Company.

Attempts to establish the China trade. Notwithstanding the numerous obstructions to which the trade of the Company was subjected in the Eastern islands, it was determined still to persevere, and Bantam, as the most convenient intermediate point, continued to engross a considerable share of the annual investments. In the season 1676–77, the share allotted to it consisted of eight vessels, amounting in the aggregate to 3180 tons. The spice trade was still the great inducement, but a new interest had been created by the prospect of establishing a factory in China. In that case, it was supposed that Bantam would become the entrepôt between China and India. This purpose it was already serving to some extent; and the agent of Bantam was under orders to send annually, on the Company's account, tea of the best quality to the value of 100 dollars. In this season, however, a direct intercourse was to be attempted, by sending a small vessel to Amoy under the charge of a person of known prudence and intelligence. From his information, the expediency of adopting further steps might be judged. This hopeful experiment was frustrated by an atrocity. In April, 1677, Mr. White, the agent, and a number of the principal servants of the agency, while sailing up the river of Bantam in their boats, were waylaid by the natives and barbarously massacred. The king and his sons were suspected of complicity, but denied it, and promised to make every exertion to discover and punish the perpetrators. Whether they did so is very doubtful, but the promise was all that the few survivors could obtain. The effect was a temporary extinction of the agency. In the subsequent season new appointments were made, but they appear not to have been judicious. Instead of attending to their proper duties the persons appointed neglected them, and spent their time in squabbling with each other. In such circumstances trade languished, and before it could be revived the opening which had been anticipated at Amoy was closed by a Chinese civil war. Amid these discouragements, the only favourable incident was an overture from the Viceroy of Canton offering to admit the English to trade. In more prosperous times it would have been eagerly embraced, but the Company contented themselves with returning a respectful answer, and requesting to know what privileges of trade would be given if an English factory were established at that port.

Trade with Bantam. In the season 1679–80, the prospect at Bantam had again brightened; for three ships, carrying 1600 tons and a stock of £69,000, chiefly bullion, were despatched to it. The inducement does not clearly appear; but from its being

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mentioned in the instructions that war was apprehended between the King of Bantam and the Dutch, it may have been anticipated that in the event of the king proving victorious, the Company, in pushing their trade in that quarter, would no longer have to encounter their most formidable competitors. In the succeeding seasons the investments to Bantam retained their importance, but from incidental allusions it may be gathered that it was not so much on account of that port itself as of the facilities which it afforded for forming connections with China. Amoy was again accessible, but its inferiority as a trading station to Canton had become more and more apparent. As the viceroy of the latter

A.D. 1682.

Trade with Bantam.

GENERAL VIEW OF CANTON.—From Nieuhof.

still continued to profess friendship, instructions were given in the season 1681–82 not only to renew the communication with him, but to make presents to him on a moderate scale, and assure him that, if proper privileges were granted, large ships with rich cargoes would annually visit his port.

An embassy sent by its king to England.

The threatened war with the King of Bantam and the Dutch was now about to become a reality. It was probably with a view to it, and the hope of securing a powerful protector, that the king took the extraordinary step of sending ambassadors to England. They arrived, and had interviews both with the king and the Company. The only recorded result is that the Company's ships carried out for him a present of 500 barrels of gunpowder. Before it arrived the war had been both begun and ended. The Dutch, with their usual sagacity, had made the victory easy by exciting an internal dissension, and giving their support to the winning party. The king's own son had been induced to take up arms against him, and in 1682 effected a revolution which gave him the throne. One of his first steps was to take possession of the Company's factory. This, we may presume, was done either at the instigation of the Dutch or to gratify them; but he had soon cause to see that while he supposed himself indebted to them for a throne, they had only been using him as their tool. The whole power was already in their hands, and scarcely a year elapsed before they had proclaimed themselves absolute masters. The Company,

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A.D. 1680. as on former occasions of a similar description, clamoured loudly for redress; and negotiations with that view were opened between the English government and the States-general. These, after promising much, proved abortive, and the Company's connection with Bantam was finally closed. It had lasted eighty years.

Trade in the Persian Gulf. About this time the Company's trade in the Persian Gulf was threatened with similar extinction. At a very early period in their history they had here acquired a permanent revenue, independent of the profits of trade, by a grant of half of the customs of Gomberoon as a reward for assisting the Persians to expel the Portuguese from Ormuz. For a series of years they drew large sums by virtue of this grant, and at the same time carried on an extensive trade, making advantageous exchanges of English and Indian goods against the raw silks and other produce of Persia. Every new reign in that country, however, endangered both their revenue and their trade; and they would often have abandoned the latter altogether had they not been aware that the moment they ceased to carry it on the former also would be forfeited. At last the revenue became still more precarious than the trade, and it continued annually to figure in the Company's books under the name of arrears of customs at Gomberoon. Again and again communications passed on this subject between the court at home and the presidency at Surat.

The Company's uncertain position there. The great question was how the Persian trade could be most effectually revived, and payment of arrears obtained. At one time negotiation, at another force, seemed expedient; and the Company hung, as it were, suspended between the two, leaning sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other. In the season 1675–76, the warlike tendency had so far prevailed that two of the ships consigned to Surat were armed for service in the Persian Gulf; but before the final plunge was taken misgivings arose, and the conclusion arrived at was that could 3000 tomands, equivalent to £9000 sterling per annum, be obtained by treaty in lieu of the Gomberoon customs, it would be far better to negotiate. This was undoubtedly a very judicious conclusion. Negotiation appears accordingly to have been attempted, but unfortunately without success; for in 1677–78, we find the Company again agitating the question of peace or war with Persia, and again giving the preference to the former, though it was only hoped that instead of 3000, 1000 tomands might be recovered. During the following season the subject appears to have been overlooked, and in that of 1679–80 it is mentioned only to record the desponding resolution, that unless the trade at Gomberoon should be more advantageous than it had proved for several years it was to be relinquished. The very next year the court must have been agreeably surprised to learn that the arrears which they had thus begun to regard as a desperate debt had become the subject of a special firman, by which the King of Persia had ordered the payment of 1000 tomands as their share of the customs for the previous year, and that their agent was in

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A.D. 1676.

expectation of receiving another 1000 tomands for the current year. It might have been supposed that negotiation, which had already produced such gratifying results, would henceforth have the preference, and yet, strange to say, the language of the court in regard to Persia becomes more warlike than ever; and in 1683, while their agent at Gomberoon was informed of "their determination to adopt more spirited measures," a remonstrance was presented to the King of Persia himself. The purport of this document, as analyzed by Mr. Bruce in his *Annals*, is singular enough to be worth quoting. "The court," he says, "after stating their claims to his justice, which was proverbially held in Europe to be unalterable," proceeded to inform his majesty, "that contrary to this justice his ministers or officers at the port at which the English factories were settled, or to which their ships resorted, had obstructed their trade, in direct violation of solemn treaties between the two countries; that though with respectful deference they prayed for relief, yet, possessing a naval power which was unrivalled, if such relief should be withheld by his ministers and officers, they trusted that so great and so just a prince would, instead of considering that naval force which they employed for their protection as disrespectful to his dignity, view it only as a necessary expedient for restoring the amicable relations between Persia and England." The high-flown compliment paid to the shah's justice, however undeserved, may pass as an orientalism; but nothing can be more ludicrous than the description of their naval power as "unrivalled," and their request that he would consider the employment of it against him as only a "necessary expedient" for restoring "amicable relations."

Singular remonstrance with the King of Persia.

For the unsatisfactory state of matters at Bantam and Gomberoon, the Company had some compensation in the progress which they continued to make at Madras and in Bengal. The attempt of the Dutch on Bombay had shown the necessity of preparing for a similar attempt on Fort St. George, and the works had been so strengthened as to be capable of a vigorous resistance. The expense was, as usual, a subject of complaint in the letter from the court; and in 1676 special instructions were given that no new buildings should be proceeded with, until plans and estimates were sent home and returned approved. This was undoubtedly the regular course, but the emergency justified the neglect of it, and subsequent events proved that the expenditure on fortifications had been wisely made. Sevajee, during an irruption into the Carnatic, had passed within a short distance of Madras, and there is reason to presume that nothing but its strength preserved it from treatment similar to that which Surat had more than once experienced. By his capture of Gingee and Vellore, he had permanently fixed himself in its vicinity; and nothing therefore could have been more imprudent than to leave any portion of it exposed to an attack, either by land or sea. Indeed, in the very next season, the court had become so much alive to the importance of Fort St. George as a place of security for their property and servants, that they virtually withdrew the censure they had

Progress of the Company at Madras.

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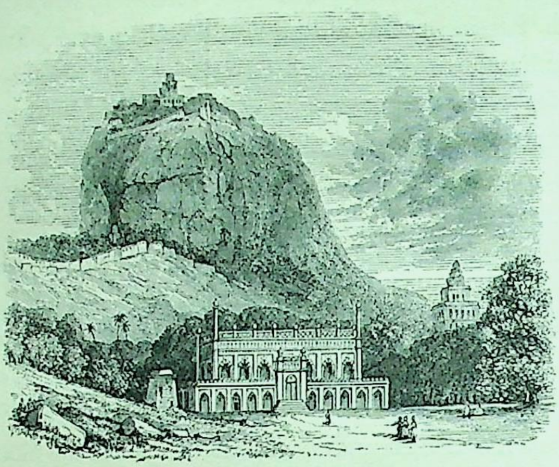
A.D. 1676. previously passed, and ordered the commanders of ships consigned to the Coromandel coast, "to take in as many large stones at Johanna (one of the Comoro Isles) as they could stow, to be used for the building of the fort, that it might be placed in a sufficient state of defence against any enemy."



Fort of Raje Ghur, Gingee.—Daniell's Oriental Annual.

Meanwhile the subject of revenue was still uppermost in the minds of the court, and they never omitted an occasion of inculcating the necessity of increasing it, and proposing plans for this purpose. Among these the first which suggested itself was a house tax, with a view to which a survey was to be made of all the houses at Madras, both in the Portuguese and black towns. In anticipation of the discontent which this tax, and a duty imposed on articles of consumption, would produce, the authorities were instructed to explain that "those who lived under the English protection must contribute to the charges by which that protection was maintained." There were two other plans of increasing the revenue, for which less apology was required. The one was to obtain authority from the King of Golconda to establish a mint at Madras, similar to the one which had already, by the authority of the English monarch, been established at Bombay; the other was to institute a bank, not, however, in the full sense of the term, but merely to receive deposits for a limited time, and to an amount not exceeding in all £100,000. The inducement to depositors was the payment of interest at the rate of not more than six per cent.; and the object of the Company was not merely to procure the means of purchasing goods at the cheapest rates, but to form a stock which would enable the agency and its dependencies to counterbalance the influence of the Dutch. Considering the very humble scale of the proposed bank, it is difficult to understand how so much should have been expected from it.

Plans for increasing revenue.

Progress of the Company in Bengal.

The progress of the Company's trade in Bengal was at this period considerable. The principal factory was still Hooghly, to which several others—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Malda, and Patna—were subordinate. In the season 1674-75 the whole amount of stock, principally bullion, sent to the eastern coast of India was £202,000. Of this, £65,000 was destined for Bengal. It seems to have been suspected that it would prove insufficient, and accordingly the factors were authorized to increase it by taking up £20,000 at interest. The investment purchased was to consist chiefly of silks and taffetas of a fine quality,

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and saltpetre. Should any surplus money remain, it was to be employed in purchasing white sugar, cotton yarn, turmeric, and bees'-wax, merely to fill up spare tonnage. In the two following years the amount of the investment was nearly the same; but in 1677-78 it rose to £100,000, and was still considered far from its maximum, as the factors were permitted to increase it by borrowing. In 1680-81 it amounted to £150,000, and in the following season to £230,000, distributed as follows:—£140,000 to Cossimbazar, £14,500 to Patna, £32,000 to Balasore, £15,000 to Malda, and £12,000 to remain at Hooghly. Hitherto Bengal had been subordinate to Fort St George, but it was now considered of sufficient importance to constitute a distinct and independent agency. Mr. Hedges, who had been a member of the management in England, was sent out with special powers to be agent and governor of the Company's affairs in Bengal. His establishment, however, appears to have been on a very humble scale, as his guard, restricted to twenty soldiers under "a corporal of approved fidelity and courage," were to perform in addition the double duty of protecting the factory at Hooghly and acting against the interlopers. A.D. 1683.

In consequence of the erection of Bengal into a separate agency, vessels were despatched direct from England to the Ganges, and on a scale which shows that the importance of the trade in this quarter was now duly appreciated. In 1682-83, one of the vessels carried thirty guns; another was of the size of 700 tons, which was rather unusual at this period. The agent was empowered to borrow £200,000, which, with the unemployed stock and credit of the former season, was expected to yield a present sum for investment of £350,000; and hopes were held out that the stock of the ensuing season would amount to £600,000, principally in bullion. These hopes, however, were not realized, serious difficulties having arisen both at home and abroad—at home by the unexpected failure of several large houses which used to supply the Company with bullion for export; and abroad by the loss of one of the outward bound ships with £70,000 of bullion on board, the capture of Bantam by the Dutch, and the imposition of new and heavier customs in Bengal, together with the discovery of irregularities in the Company's factories in that province. In consequence of all these untoward events a panic began to prevail, and a run took place on the Company's treasury threatening it with insolvency. Instead, therefore, of providing foreign investments, the court resolved in the meantime to reserve all the produce of their sales for the payment of their debts, and neither to send bullion to India nor make any dividend to their proprietors till these debts were liquidated. With the view of facilitating this process of liquidation, all the settlements abroad were placed on the lowest possible scale; and Bengal, which had begun to act as an independent agency, was again made subordinate to Madras. Somewhat inconsistently, at the very time when Bengal was thus shorn of its independence, the court were seriously contemplating a great addition to its importance by endeavouring to acquire possession of an

Extent of trade in Bengal.

State of the Company's finances.

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A.D. 1685. island in the mouth of the Ganges. Could such an acquisition be made, fortifications were to be immediately commenced. Such was the dubious position of the Company's establishments in Bengal when Charles II. died.

CHAPTER VII.

Marked change in the Company's policy on the accession of James II.—Hostile preparations—War with the Mogul—Disastrous results.

THE Duke of York, now James II., had been a considerable shareholder in the Company, and was understood to be willing to employ all the power and influence of the crown in their favour. A new course of prosperity was hence anticipated, and it soon became apparent that the moderation and caution hitherto manifested were no longer deemed necessary. The interlopers were henceforth to be proceeded against with a rigour which, while admitted to be most desirable, had previously been deemed impolitic. In England prosecutions were immediately to be commenced in the Court of King's Bench against no fewer than forty-eight individuals, who were charged with violating the Company's exclusive privileges, and several of whom, it was supposed, would be unable to make any effectual defence, because the statements contained in their petitions to the king were to be laid hold of as admissions of guilt. In India the judge-advocate established at Bombay was furnished with the code of martial law established in the British army, that it might become the rule of his conduct in trying the commanders and officers of the interloping ships; and the president and council were specially enjoined not to perplex themselves with questions as to the legality of the proceedings, but to be careful in providing that the sentences pronounced by the judge should be carried into execution. The Company must have been aware that the outcry which had been raised against them would thus become more clamorous than ever; but they acted as if they had imbibed the spirit of the last of the Stuarts, and were resolved, if they could not conciliate public opinion, to set it at defiance.

Change in the Company's policy.

In a similar spirit, the native powers were no longer to be addressed in submissive petitions, but given to understand that the Company would henceforth treat with them as an independent power, and when aggrieved would, if necessary, compel redress by force of arms. To show that this haughty tone meant as much as it expressed, the Company obtained the king's patent, authorizing them to appoint their president, Sir John Child, "captain-general and admiral of all their forces by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape

Company claim to be independent in power.

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Comorin to the Gulf of Persia." To give effect to this appointment, he was to fix the seat of government at Bombay, while Surat was to be reduced to a simple factory; and he was to maintain a kind of state, by the attendance of a guard of English grenadiers under the command of an ensign with the rank of captain. It was presumed that the removal to Bombay would give umbrage to the Mogul government, but under the new policy this was a very secondary consideration, as not only the Mogul, but Sambajee and the native princes generally, were to be given to understand that the Company had now in Bombay an impregnable retreat, from which they would be able to retaliate at sea for any exactions and depredations to which they might be subjected on shore. This was no empty menace, for the same vessel which carried out the above public instructions, carried others of a still more important nature, transmitted from a secret committee, with the approbation of the king, and intended not to be made known till the moment for acting upon them had arrived. A.D. 1685.

An armament on a far larger scale than the Company had ever before fitted out had sailed from England. It consisted of ten ships, mounting from twelve to seventy guns each, and carrying as many troops as, with those which were ordered to join them on their arrival, would make 1000 regular infantry. Its destination was Bengal. On arriving there, and forming, with the Company's ships, a fleet of nineteen sail, it was to effect a landing at Chittagong, on the north-east side of the Bay of Bengal, and take permanent possession of it, fortifying it in the best manner, mounting 200 cannons upon it, establishing a mint, and levying five per cent. customs on the inhabitants. The possibility of a failure seems never to have been contemplated. The instructions, accordingly, presuming a complete success, enter into a number of minute details for the purpose of regulating future proceedings. After Chittagong was captured and made secure, and all Mogul ships of every description had been seized and declared lawful prizes, the expedition was to proceed up the eastern branch of the Ganges against Dacca. Supposing, as a matter of course, that the nabob and his troops would immediately save themselves by flight, peace was to be offered to him on the following conditions: that he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, and pay the debts he owed them; that he should allow the rupees coined at Chittagong to pass current in his district, and restore all privileges according to ancient firmans. Should he claim restitution of the ships and property seized, he was to be told that the parties were to bear their respective losses and expenses during the war; and that, while these were the most favourable terms which the Company were disposed to concede, even these would not be binding upon them, unless they were ratified and embodied in a regular treaty by the Great Mogul. Warlike schemes.

As if a single war were not enough at one time, the armament was also to commence hostilities with the King of Siam, and seize his vessels by way of compensation for the losses which the Company had sustained in his dominions. Siam to be attacked.

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A.D. 1686. Nor was this all. The Portuguese were to be dealt with after a similar fashion; and if they continued to exact customs at Tanna and Caranja, the president at Bombay was not only to refuse them, but to employ the fleet and military forces at his disposal in seizing Salsette and other dependencies, which it was asserted that the grant of the port and island of Bombay ought to have carried along with it.

Extravagance of the schemes. The extravagance of these schemes, sufficiently apparent in itself, was signally proved by the result. On the 28th October, 1686, in consequence of a quarrel between three English and some native soldiers in the bazaar at Hooghly, hostilities were prematurely commenced. The nabob's troops were defeated, and Hooghly suffered severely by a cannonade of the Company's fleet. Before this event, Shaistah Khan, the nabob, was disposed to compromise matters with the Company, or submit their differences to arbitration. An amicable settlement was now impossible, and indeed was not desired by the Company, who had made up a list of claims exceeding in the aggregate £500,000 sterling, and were indulging the hope that by their warlike successes a considerable portion of it might be secured for their treasury, though they must have been aware that many of the items charged were fictitious, or at least conjectural. As a specimen the following may be mentioned:—"For detaining y[e] agent with y[e] silk at Cassumbuzar, 400,000 rupees" (£40,000). "For what extorted from us in presents, &c., 200,000 rupees" (£20,000). "To demorage of shipping, the three last years, 2,000,000 rupees" (£200,000). "For charge of 1000 men and twenty ships for y[e] war, also 2,000,000 rupees" (£200,000).

Their failure. Immediately after the attack on Hooghly, the Moguls, pretending to be intimidated, but merely with the view of gaining time, obtained a cessation of hostilities, during which the servants of the Company removed with their property from that town, and on 20th December, 1686, fixed on Chuttanuttee, or Calcutta, as a safer station while negotiations were pending. How these would issue soon became apparent; for the nabob, making no secret of his intentions, seized upon the English factory at Patna, and imprisoned all the inmates. The prospects of the Company now became sufficiently alarming. The premature attack had made the Moguls aware of what was intended; the subsequent delay had enabled them to complete their preparations; and it had become impossible to disguise the fact, that the armament which had been provided was inadequate to its object. Chittagong could not be attacked with any probability of success. In proportion to the extravagance of the hopes which had been entertained was the despondency produced by failure. Mr. Gyfford, the president of Madras, first took alarm. Aurungzebe's army was approaching. It had already conquered the kingdom of Bejapoor; that of Golconda was on the point of sharing the same fate. What then was to prevent it from continuing its victorious career, and advancing upon Madras? Fort St. George, to reinforce the expedition to Bengal, had been left almost entirely without a garrison and without

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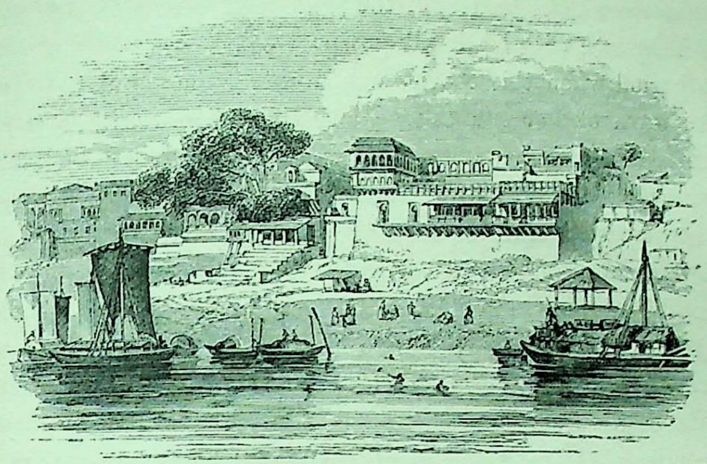
military stores. Thus unprovided with the means of defence, the president saw no safety for it except in negotiation. With this view he opened a communication with the Mogul, and by means of various flimsy excuses for the hostilities

A.D. 1687.



PATNA.—From Daniell's Views in India.

in Bengal, humbly deprecated his displeasure, and prayed for a confirmation of the privileges which Madras had so long enjoyed.

Bombay and Madras formed into regencies.

The court at home, never dreaming of the gloomy aspect which affairs had assumed, continued to busy themselves with their schemes of aggrandizement, and the various changes which might become necessary by the accomplishment of them. In imitation of the Dutch at Batavia and Colombo, they raised Bombay to the rank of a regency, and declared their wish that it should be fortified "as strong as art and money could make it." As the seat of government, Sir John Child, who presided at it, was to have unlimited power over all the Company's settlements in India. Madras, too, though subordinate to Bombay, was also raised to the rank of a regency, and at the same time (1687) received a charter of incorporation. Before this charter was granted the governor and deputy-governor of the Company were commanded to attend his majesty at the cabinet council. The subject of the intended charter was then largely debated, though the only question which appears to have excited much interest was—whether the charter should pass immediately by the king, under the great seal, or whether it should pass under the common seal of the Company. One member of council argued in favour of the former method, but the governor, when the king asked his opinion, replied as follows:—"What his majesty thought best the Company would always think so; but if his majesty expected the governor's private opinion, he had ever been of opinion, that no person in India should be employed by immediate commission from his majesty, because if they were they would be prejudicial to our service by their arrogancy, and prejudicial to themselves, because the wind of extraordinary honour in their heads would probably make them so haughty and overbearing that we should be forced to remove them."

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A.D. 1688. This view of the matter so far prevailed, that the charter was made to pass under the common seal of the Company. Under this charter the corporation was to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (three Company's servants and seven natives), who were to be justices of the peace, and wear thin silk scarlet gowns, and of 120 burgesses with black silk gowns.

Tenure of Madras. At the period when this charter was granted, the population of the city of Madras, the town of Fort St. George, and the villages within the Company's bounds was estimated at 300,000. The whole was held of the King of Golconda at a quit-rent of 1200 pagodas, or about £430. The obligation to pay this sum could not be disputed; and yet, as if the Company under their new policy had considered themselves entitled to dispense with justice wherever force could effect their object, they caused intimation to be made to the king that their future payment to him would depend on his keeping St. Thomé in such a manner as not to become an annoyance to Fort St. George. If he would not let it on lease or farm to the Company, the president, "as representing an independent power, was not only to refuse payment of the quit-rent, but to declare the place the property of the Company.' For the gross fraud and violence thus proposed to be perpetrated, the only justification attempted was that the King of Golconda's power had been "much decreased by the victories of the Mogul, and his expulsion from Masulipatam by the Dutch," and that "it was impracticable to carry on trade, or maintain a seat of government without revenue." Such were the Machiavellian principles shamelessly advocated by the court in their letters to Madras in the season 1687–88.

Continued war with the Mogul. When the failure of the expedition to Bengal was announced in England, the court, instead of attributing it to the tortuous policy which they had begun to pursue, were ungenerous enough to throw the whole blame on their servants in India. The agency of Bengal were censured for their timid conduct, charged with having selfishly pursued their own ends, regardless of the honour and interests of the king and Company who had confided in them, and threatened with expulsion from the service if, by their sinister schemes, the objects of the war should not be accomplished. These objects the Company were not yet willing to abandon; and therefore, when despatching a large ship, called the *Defence*, under the command of Captain Heath, and a small frigate, fully armed, and carrying a reinforcement of 160 soldiers, to assist in the war, they intimated their determination that "unless a fortification and a district around it should be ceded, to be held as an independent sovereignty, the charges of the armament be defrayed, and permission to coin money in Bengal, to pass current in the Mogul's and nabob's dominions, be granted, they would not consent to a peace, or send any more stock or goods to the Ganges." These boastings and menaces become ludicrous when viewed in connection with the actual position of affairs, and only proclaim the ignorance, presumption, and folly of those to whom the home management of the Company was at this time intrusted.

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A.D. 1689.

Proceedings in the Bay of Bengal.

Captain Heath arrived in Bengal in October, 1688, and, proceeding to act on instructions which had become altogether inapplicable to the circumstances, embarked the Company's property at Calcutta, and then proceeded to Balasore Roads. The members of the factory there had been seized and imprisoned; but Captain Heath, though he opened a negotiation with the governor, was too impatient to wait for the result of it. Having effected a landing, he captured a battery of thirty guns, and then plundered the town. By this proceeding he gained little, and threw away the only chance of obtaining the English prisoners, who were carried off into the interior to endure a hopeless captivity. From Balasore he proceeded to Chittagong; but instead of attacking it with his well-equipped fleet, now amounting to fifteen sail, he spent some days in fruitless negotiation, and then set sail for Aracan. It was supposed that as the king was at enmity with the Mogul, a locality for a fortified settlement might be easily obtained. The application, however, was refused; and Captain Heath, after an ineffectual attempt to secure his object by courting the alliance of a rebel chief, finally quitted the Bengal coast, and arrived at Madras on the 4th of March, 1689. On board the fleet was all that now remained to the Company of the wreck of their once flourishing factories in Bengal.

Tortuous policy of the Company.

On the west coast of India the results were not more satisfactory. The first intimation of the warlike policy of the Company was communicated by the secret committee in a letter to President Child, intended for his eye alone, but marked to be opened in his absence by Sir John Wyborne, deputy-governor of Bombay. The president was absent, and Sir John not only opened the letter, but imprudently communicated the contents to the council. The secret was of a kind not likely to be kept, and great alarm was felt lest it should reach the ears of the governor of Surat. This was altogether contrary to the intentions of the Company, who were bent on carrying out a great scheme of fraud by making sudden war on the Mogul in one quarter of his dominions, when they were deluding him with professions of friendship in another. In Bengal his territory was to be invaded, and his ships and those of his subjects seized as lawful prizes, not only there, but in the eastern seas and in the Persian Gulf; while on the west coast of India, and particularly at Surat, a mask of friendship was to be worn, and not thrown off so long as concealment might seem desirable. This nefarious mode of warfare excited no scruples in the mind of Sir John Child, who at once entered into the spirit of it, and discovered, as Bruce expresses it, "a high sense of duty, and a provident concern for the interests of the Company," by resolving not only to keep up the deception and avoid hostilities with the Mogul till the result of the Bengal expedition should be known, but even "should circumstances oblige him to commence hostilities, to take the responsibility on himself." The meaning is, that he was to act as a screen to the Company, and enable them, should the war prove unsuccessful, to allege, in utter disregard of truth and honour, that he had acted without their

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A.D. 1689.

authority. In the case supposed, therefore, Sir John Child was to be treated *apparently* as if he had incurred the displeasure of the Company, and they were to follow out the wretched system of duplicity by negotiating with the Mogul "for the restoration of their privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they were anterior to his *apparently* unwise proceedings."

Game of deceit.

At this game of deceit it was not easy to overmatch the Mogul, and the Company's experience ere long furnished a new illustration of the old adage, that "honesty is the best policy." Sir John Child displayed considerable dexterity. At first he despatched two of the Company's ships to Mocha and Bussorah, and two others to China, with secret orders to seize all the Mogul or Siamese vessels they might fall in with. At the same time he despatched a ship to Surat to lie off the mouth of the estuary, and endeavour if possible to bring off all the members and property of the factory. The governor of Surat was too well informed, and too much on the alert to be thus imposed upon. Without proceeding to acts of violence, he kept such a strict watch that the escape of the agent and factors was impracticable. Craft being thus unavailing, Sir John Child tried the effect of force, and suddenly seized all the Surat ships in the port of Bombay. The governor, affecting an intimidation which he did not feel, sent one of the English factors to him with a complimentary letter, in which he expressed an anxious wish to come to an accommodation, and to know what terms would satisfy the Company, and induce them to resume trade. The factor returned to Surat with a statement of grievances, comprising thirty-five articles, including, *inter alia*, satisfaction for stoppage of goods at the custom-house, for the obstruction of investments, for the demurrage of vessels detained, for the refusal to deliver up interlopers and their ships, for the raising of customs from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., for the refusal of permission to coin money, for the imposition of arbitrary taxes, and the seizure of horses and goods for the Mogul's use without paying for them.

Capture of Mogul ships.

Before any answer was returned to these propositions, Captain Andrews, commanding one of the ships which had been sent to the Persian Gulf, returned to Bombay, bringing with him an interloping ship and six Mogul vessels, which were sailing under Dutch colours. These captures speedily becoming known, put an end to the trick of concealing actual hostilities, and therefore, without any further attempt at disguise, Sir John Child despatched two large ships to Surat, with orders to seize all Mogul vessels that should be met with, and also to attack the Siddee's fleet, if it should attempt to cross the bar with the view of putting out to sea. During these proceedings a new governor arrived at Surat, and professed such friendly feelings, that Sir John Child, at the urgent request of the agent, made his appearance off Surat, and succeeded, as he thought, in negotiating a provisional convention on the basis of his thirty-five articles. Though these fell far short of what had at one time been anticipated, the Company, now alive to the difficulties in which their fraud and folly had

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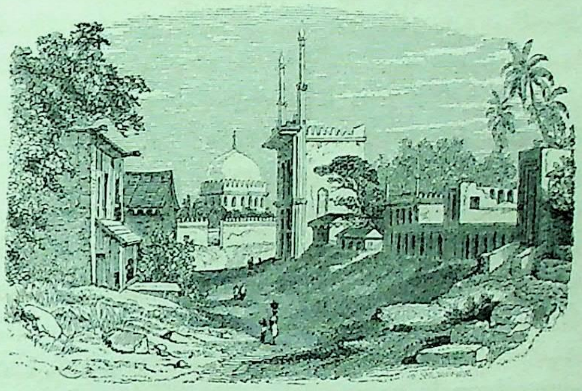
involved them, were so delighted at the prospect of a treaty with the Mogul, that they voted the president a present of 1000 guineas, as a mark of approbation for the wisdom of his proceedings during the war, and for his general services. The vote was afterwards discovered to have been premature. The governor of Surat had merely begun to play his part in the game of deceit, and in order to gain time had professed a willingness to accept of terms which he was determined to repudiate. No sooner, therefore, was his object secured, than he threw off the mask of friendship, again imprisoned the members of the factory, confiscated all the Company's property, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child, alive or dead. The president, thus completely outwitted, returned to Bombay, and found no other means of avenging himself than by capturing forty vessels of a large fleet of Mogul merchantmen. A.D. 1690.

Though the prospect of an amicable termination had now become hopeless, one effort more was made by sending a deputation to Aurungzebe himself, who was then encamped with his army at Bejapoor. Meanwhile, Sir John Child found himself so completely powerless, that he was unable to prevent the Siddee from making several descents upon the island, and even threatening an attack upon the castle of Bombay. He had no spirit to face the gathering storm, and died on the 4th of February, 1690. Had he lived a few weeks longer, he would have seen the Company in a more humiliating position than he had ever contemplated as possible; for shortly after, Aurungzebe's answer to the deputation which had been sent to him arrived in the form of a firman, couched in the following terms:— Disappointments.



STREET OF THE FOUNTAINS, BEJAPOOR.—From drawing in East India House.

"All the English having made a most humble, submissive petition, that the crime they have done may be pardoned, and requested another *phirmaund*, to make their being forgiven manifest, and sent their *bakkeels* to the heavenly palace, the most illustrious in the world, to get the royal favour; and Ettimaund Caun, the governor of Suratt's petition to the famous court, equal to the skie, being arrived, that they would present the great king with a fine of 150,000 rupees, to his most noble treasury, representing the sun, and would restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners of them, and would walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his duty and favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, mercifully Ignominious results.

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A.D. 1690. forgiven them, and out of his princely condescension agrees, that the present be put into the treasury of the port, the merchants' goods be returned, the town flourish, and they follow their trade, as in former times; and Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled. This order is irreversible."

Effects of the Revolution of 1688.

While the Company were thus, by a kind of just retribution, reaping the bitter fruits of their war policy, another calamity had befallen them. Their great patron James II. had been driven from the throne which he unworthily occupied. The Revolution, which saved the liberties of the nation from civil and ecclesiastical despotism, was no doubt eminently favourable to trade; but the Company unfortunately stood in a false position. They held a monopoly which a powerful party were bent on wresting from them, and they had themselves incurred much odium by the rigorous and despotic measures which they had adopted in maintaining their exclusive privileges. It would not have been wonderful if, in these circumstances, while they were regarded as almost identified with the dynasty which had just been expelled, they had shared its fate. The Company, though fully alive to the danger, did not lose heart, but resolved to leave no means untried that promised to avert it.

The spirit of freedom evoked during the struggle with the last of the Stuarts, was naturally taken advantage of by the opponents of the Company; and no sooner had William and Mary been seated on the throne, than it was boldly maintained that the crown had exceeded its powers in granting exclusive privileges of trade, without the consent of the other branches of the legislature. This question, on the solution of which the very existence of the Company evidently depended, could not be much longer delayed. It was not to be expected that, while thus existing only by a kind of reprieve, they would venture on any large expenditure in new and hazardous enterprises, or even continue their equipments on their previous scale. In the season 1689–90, they sent out only three ships, two of them destined for Bombay, and one for Fort St. George. At the same time, when they were thus curtailing their trade, they made strenuous exertions to increase their revenue; and, still clinging to the idea of becoming an independent Indian power, addressed the presidency of Bombay in the following terms:—"The object of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade: 'tis that must make us a nation in India: without that we are but as a great nation of interlopers, united by his majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade." This language, which certainly sounds strange in a Company which professed to be established "on a purely mercantile bottom," may be partly explained by the change which had taken place in European politics.

Aspirations after revenue

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The "wise Dutch," whose conduct, after having been so often the subject of bitter vituperation, is eulogized as a model, were now in close alliance with England; while France, which had been rapidly acquiring power and influence in the East, had become their common enemy. Whatever might be the ultimate issue of the hostilities, it was scarcely possible, while they continued, to carry on a profitable trade. Both in the East and in Europe, French privateers were on the watch to make prizes of the Company's ships. It was therefore easy to represent the curtailed equipments as the result of prudential arrangements, and to justify the resolution to make revenue a primary object. The accomplishment of this object, however, was attended with considerable difficulty. At Bombay taxation had already been carried to an extent which had produced insurrection. In Fort St. George a similar result was threatened; but the court, listening only to their necessities, held that the additional revenue actually obtained was "by no means equal to what might have been expected, or drawn from a fortified town which could afford protection to shipping and trade, and that the amount might be increased to £100,000 per annum, if a similar system of taxation should be introduced with that which the Dutch had established at Batavia."

A.D. 1693.

War with France.

The opposition to the Company had now assumed a definite shape, by the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons, praying for legislative sanction to the establishment of a new company, formed on more liberal principles. From the causes already mentioned, the petitioners found much favour, and a committee was appointed who, after fully hearing both parties, reported on the 16th of January, 1690, that, in their opinion, "the best way to manage the East India trade, is to have it in a new company and a new joint stock, and this to be established by act of parliament; but that till this was done, the exclusive trade should remain with the present Company." Parliament was prorogued before this report could be taken into consideration, but in 1691 the resolution of the committee was virtually sanctioned by an address which the House of Commons presented to the crown. After this decided step, the Company became convinced that their privileges would never be secure until they were confirmed by statute. To this object, accordingly, their domestic policy was henceforth more especially devoted. In a petition to parliament they set forth their claims at full length, and ultimately gained what they justly considered a victory, because the adverse decision previously given against them was not repeated; and the House of Commons, as if satisfied that they had hitherto acted in the matter with some degree of precipitation, simply referred the whole business to the king. This was just what the Company desired, for they felt assured that even if argument should fail, they had it in their power to conciliate the favour of government by the employment of other means of a more efficacious nature. What these were will shortly appear; but in the meantime it is necessary only to mention the result—that, on the 7th of October, 1693, the

Petition for a new East India Company.

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A.D. 1693. Company obtained a new charter from the crown. Before considering its terms, it will be proper to glance at the state of affairs in India.

State of the Company's trade.

As already mentioned, the Company sent out only three ships from England in the season 1689-90. In the following season the same number only was sent, and not so much for the purpose of carrying on trade at the great marts, which they enjoyed before their unhappy hostilities with the Mogul, as of picking up any remains of traffic which might be found in localities not affected by these hostilities. Thus one of the vessels was sent to Bencoolen in Sumatra, where, as a substitute for Bantam, which was no longer accessible, a factory had been established and fortified; the second vessel, destined for Fort St. George, was to load with coast goods, including those which it might be possible to collect from Bengal; and the third, proceeding direct to Bombay, was to endeavour to obtain a cargo by touching at the different stations on the Malabar coast. In 1692-93 trade took a new start, and the number of ships despatched amounted to eleven. The main cause of the increase was the re-establishment of trade within the Mogul territories, on terms which, though humiliating, the Company were too glad to accept; but something also may have been due to the better prospect which they now had of obtaining a confirmation of their privileges from the king. The latter cause must have operated still more powerfully in the ensuing season, and accordingly the number of ships sent out amounted to thirteen, which sailed as two successive fleets in January and March.

Progress of the Dutch and French.

During the hostilities with the Mogul, the Dutch and French had turned the blunders of the Company to good account, and, in a manner, monopolized the Indian market. The advantages thus acquired by the Dutch were not eventually of serious consequence, because the strict alliance into which they were brought with England prevented them from using these advantages, at least openly, for the purpose of injuring the Company. The case was different with the French. While the Company were sacrificing all the substantial advantages which it had cost them the better part of a century to secure, the French had not only established factories at Surat on the Malabar coast, and in the mouth of the Ganges, but had acquired a commanding settlement on the Coromandel coast at Pondicherry, eighty-five miles south-south-west of Madras. Even when France and England were allies, the Company could not refrain from expressing the jealousy and fear which they felt at the rising prosperity of the French; and now that the alliance had been broken up, and the two nations were once more open enemies, one of the first instructions sent out to the presidency of Surat was to endeavour to secure the safety of their settlements and trade by wresting Pondicherry from the French. This was far more than the presidency could venture to attempt with the feeble means at their disposal, and the struggle which was finally to decide the ascendency between the rival establishments was necessarily reserved to a future period. Indeed, at this time, so far were the Company from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Pon-

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dicherry, that they were unable to maintain their own ground against a French fleet of four ships, mounting respectively sixty-six, sixty, forty, and twenty guns, which had made its appearance on the west coast of India, and captured one of the Company's ships within fifty miles of Bombay. This loss was somewhat counterbalanced by a gain on the east coast, where Tegnapatam, situated only about twelve miles south of Pondicherry, was acquired by purchase from a native prince, and immediately converted into the strong and important settlement of Fort St. David. It is rather curious, that while the French, with whom we were then at war, allowed the Company quietly to fortify themselves in their immediate vicinity, the Dutch, our allies, manifested the utmost jealousy, and refused to recognize the right which the Company claimed, in virtue of their purchase, to levy harbour dues and customs.

A.D. 1692.

Settlement of Fort St David.

CHAPTER VIII.

New crown charters—Hostile feeling of the House of Commons—Wholesale bribery and scandalous disclosures—Rival Company established by act of parliament.

BOTH the disgraceful termination of the war in which the Company had engaged with the Mogul, and the state of the public mind produced by the Revolution, gave great advantages to their enemies, who endeavoured, by a petition which they presented to the House of Commons, to prove that nothing but the establishment of a new Company was able to save the East India trade from being entirely lost to the nation. The question raised by the petition was too important not to attract considerable attention; and a committee, appointed by the house, to take cognizance of it, began by requiring an exact state of the Company's accounts, an estimate of their stock, goods, cash, and debts, and a view of the correspondence both at home and abroad. The Company meanwhile met the petition of their opponents with a counter-petition, and both sides having been fully heard, resolutions were adopted, laying down a series of general propositions as to the terms on which the trade to the East Indies should in future be carried on. The most important of the resolutions were—"That a sum not less than £1,500,000, and not exceeding £2,000,000, was a fund necessary to carry on the East India trade in a joint stock—that no one person should possess any larger share than £5000, nor have more than one vote—that no private contracts should be made, but all goods be sold at public sales by inch of candle, except saltpetre for the use of the crown, and in lots each not exceeding at one time the value of £500—that all dividends be made in money, and no dividend

Parliamentary resolutions.

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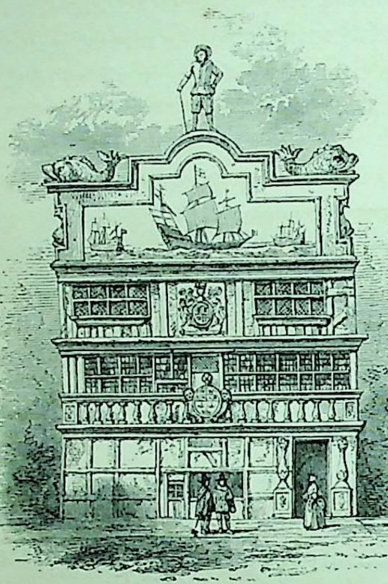
A.D. 1692.

be made without leaving a sufficient fund to pay all debts and carry on the trade—that no ships, either with permission or without, for the future be allowed to go to the East Indies, except only such as should be of a company, or be established by act of parliament—and that the joint stock of a company to trade to the East Indies be for twenty-one years, and no longer."

Intention of parliament to continue the monopoly.

Though in these resolutions no express mention was made of the existing Company, it became evident, from other resolutions adopted immediately after, that the intention of parliament was to continue them in possession of their monopoly; for after stipulating "that persons having above the sum of £5000 in the stock of the present East India Company, in their own or other persons' names, be obliged to sell so much thereof as should exceed the sum of £5000, at the rate of one hundred pounds for every hundred," and "that the members of the committee of the East India Company be obliged to give security, to be approved of by the house, that the stock and estate they now had should be made good £749,000, all debts paid," it was added, "that security being first given, an humble address be presented to his majesty, to incorporate the present East India Company by charter, according to the regulations agreed upon by the house, that the same might pass into an act."



Old East India House, circa 1650.[1]

Address to the crown to dissolve the Company.

To some of these regulations as unnecessary or impolitic, valid objections might easily have been made; but the Company apparently resolved to waive them; for within a week, Sir Thomas Cooke the governor, and two other committees of the Company, produced their proposals of security. They were not deemed satisfactory, and the house, after a short delay, adopted the following resolution, dated 11th February, 1692—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the

[1] This view is from an old print, copied from a painting in the possession of Mr. Pulham, of the India House. The inscription on it is, "Het Huis van den Oost Indische Compagnie en Londen." A brief notice of the houses used by the Company is at foot of print, whence we extract the following:—From 1604 to 1621 the affairs of the Company were chiefly transacted at the house of the first governor, Sir T. Smith, in Philpot Lane. The regular establishment of the Company in 1621 was at Crosby House, in Bishopsgate Street, then belonging to Lord Northampton. In 1638 the Company removed to the house of Sir Christopher Clitheroe, in Leadenhall Street, at that time governor; and in 1648 removed to the house represented above, adjoining to Sir Christopher's. In 1726 a new front was made, and a new building was in progress, which remained till 1796, when the present structure was commenced.

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powers reserved in their charter, and to constitute another East India Company for the better preserving of the East India trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit." To this address, which was ordered to be presented by the whole house, his majesty replied, "That it was a matter of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom, and that it could not be expected he should give a present answer to it, but that he would take time to consider of it, and in a short time give them his positive answer." The Company having reason to believe that they had more to expect from the king than from the legislature, bound themselves by writing to submit to such regulations as should be made. Accordingly, the committee of the privy council, to whom the whole matter had been referred, drew up an elaborate paper, entitled, "Propositions for regulating the East India Company." The propositions, thirty-two in number, while retaining the spirit of the resolutions sanctioned by the House of Commons, entered much more into detail, and also made some very important alterations and additions. Instead of accepting them as they had formerly promised, the Company returned what they called the "Humble Answer of the Governor, Deputy-governor, and Court of Committees of the East India Company, to a Paper of Propositions for Regulation of the East India Company." In this answer the propositions were minutely criticized, and for the most part strenuously objected to. Some of the answers are very quaint and curious. To the second proposition, which was—"The stock of the present Company to be part of the fund" (the proposed fund amounting to at least £1,500,000, and not exceeding £2,000,000), "and to be rated at £744,000, if they can give security that it shall effectually produce that sum; or else at so much less, as they will engage to make good after all debts paid, and satisfaction made to the Mogul and his subjects, against whose pretensions the new stock to be indemnified by the like security:"—it was answered —"The Company, recommending their righteous cause to God and his majesty's known and famous justice in the whole course of his happy life, say that the value of everything is what it will sell for; and their stock, under all the calumnies and persecutions of their adversaries, now currently sells for £150 per hundred; and they know and can prove it to be intrinsically more worth than that current price; but they know no law or reason why they should be dispossessed of their estates at any less value than they are really worth in ready money, by all the measures anything is valued in any part of the world. They humbly say as to security, they know no reason why they should give security for their own estates. They affirm that they owe not a penny to the Great Mogul or any of his subjects, other than their running accounts with their own banyans and brokers, which are changing daily, like merchants running cash in a goldsmith's hand. Although the Company owe nothing to the Mogul, as aforesaid, yet the bare mentioning any such thing by a public act of his majesty, would be enough to persuade him to invent demands upon the Company for transactions

A.D. 1692.

New regulations proposed

Objections of the Company.

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A.D. 1692. and pretences done in ages past, before any of the present adventurers were born; and therefore that part of the proposition seems manifestly impossible, as well as unjust, neither the Mogul nor any of his subjects having made any complaint to his majesty of the Company's being in debt to him or them; that being only a suggestion of the interlopers and their adherents, not only now, but for many years past. As to that hypothesis—if they can give security—it will not become the Company to say what they might of their own ability, or the ability or disability of their adversaries; they are, on both sides, well known on the Exchange."

His majesty's answer to the address

The other answers exhibiting a similar spirit, were regarded by the king as a formal rejection by the Company of the charter which had been offered to them; and accordingly, on the 14th November, 1692, he returned the following answer to the address which had been presented to him on the subject during the previous session of parliament:—

"The House of Commons having presented an address to the king to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the power reserved in their charter, and to constitute a new one, his majesty took into consideration the proper methods of complying with their desires, and of securing effectually this advantageous trade to the nation.

"But his majesty, upon examination of the charter, and consulting his judges and learned council, found that he could not legally dissolve the Company but upon three years' warning; and that during the three years after warning the Company must subsist, and might continue to trade; and that although the king might constitute a new company, yet he could not empower such new company to trade till after three years, the crown having expressly covenanted not to grant any such liberties.

"Hereupon his majesty was very apprehensive of the ill consequences of giving warning to the Company, because they would then be less solicitous of promoting the true interest and advantage of the trade, whereof they could not long reap the fruits, and that no new company could be immediately admitted to it; so that this very beneficial trade, which is already so much impaired, might be in danger of being entirely lost to the nation.

"His majesty, very desirous to prevent so great a mischief, and to gratify the House of Commons in the end, since he could not do it without great hazard in the manner they proposed, required the East India Company to answer directly whether they would submit to such regulations as his majesty should judge proper, and most likely to advance the trade; and the Company having fully agreed to it, and declared their resolution in writing, his majesty commanded a committee of his privy council to prepare regulations; which they did, and offered them to the Company; but the Company, notwithstanding their declaration of submission, rejected almost all the material particulars.

"So that his majesty, finding that what possibly the House of Commons

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might have expected, and indeed was necessary to preserve this trade, could not be perfected by his own authority alone, and that the Company could not be induced to consent to any such regulations as might have answered the intentions of the House of Commons, and that the concurrence of parliament is requisite to make a complete and useful settlement of this trade, has directed all the proceedings in this matter to be laid before them; and recommends to them the preparing of such a bill, in order to pass into an act of parliament, as may establish this trade on such foundations as are most likely to preserve and advance it." A.D. 1693.

The House of Commons endeavoured to act on this suggestion, but finding that the opposition of the Company still continued, resolved, on the 25th February, 1693, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will dissolve the East India Company, upon three years' warning to the said Company, according to the power reserved in their charter." The king answered, "I will do always all the good in my power for this kingdom, and I will consider your address."

The Company forfeit their charter.

A crisis was thus evidently approaching; but the Company, though they had been bold enough to provoke it, became alive to the full extent of the danger, and determined to leave no means untried that promised to prevent it. Unfortunately, however, at this very time, from mere inadvertency or some other cause which has never been properly explained, they incurred a direct forfeiture of their charter by failing to make payment of the first quarterly instalment of a tax of five per cent. imposed upon their stock, by Act 4 Wm. and Mary, c. 15. In this act the stock was valued at £744,000, and consequently the whole sum exigible under the first quarterly payment was only £9300. It is obvious that the nonpayment of a sum so comparatively paltry must have been owing to oversight and not to inability; but the enemies of the Company were numerous, influential, and inveterate; and as the act, after ordering the first quarterly payment to be made on the 25th of March, 1693, expressly declared, that "in case the governors and treasurers of the said respective companies" (the East India Company, the Royal African Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company) "shall make default in payment of the said several sums, or any of them respectively, charged on the stock of the said companies, at the days and times aforesaid, according to the true intent of this act, the charter of such company respectively shall be, and is hereby adjudged to be void," it was seriously proposed to exact the full penalty. The Company being thus entirely at the mercy of government, abandoned all idea of resistance to any terms that might be offered them, and counted themselves fortunate when they escaped annihilation by obtaining new crown charters, which provided that the forfeiture, if really incurred, should not take effect.

New charters granted by the crown.

The first of these charters, dated 7th October, 1693, after premising that "the governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East

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A.D. 1694. Indies have been of long time, to the honour and profit of the nation, a corporation," and that "some doubt or question hath of late been made touching the validity of the charters of the said Company, and whether the same be not, in strictness of law, void, by the not actual payment into the receipt of our exchequer of the first quarterly payment of the tax of £5 per cent. charged on the general joint stock of the said Company," proceeds as follows: "Now know ye, that we, taking the premises into our royal consideration, and well weighing what disorders and inconveniences would befall the said Company, and other persons concerned and employed in their trade, especially in the remote parts of the world, if we should take advantage of the forfeiture aforesaid (if any be), and we being willing that the said governor and Company, or late governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, and their successors, shall have and enjoy all such and the like lawful powers, privileges and advantages, and immunities; and in as ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as if the said first quarterly payment of the said tax had been duly and regularly made according to the said act; of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," constitute and appoint Sir Thomas Cooke, knight, and various other individuals named, "and all and every other persons who were members of the said Company, or late Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, on the 25th day of March, now last past, who have not since parted with their stocks in the said Company; and all and every other person and persons who, since the 24th of March last past, by buying stock or otherwise, have come into, and remain in a capacity of being members of the said Company, be and shall be one body corporate and politick in deed and in name," &c.

New charter granted.

Special proviso in the new charter.

While thus generally confirming all the rights and privileges previously enjoyed by the Company, the new charter contains the following important proviso:—"If the said governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, and their successors, do not accept of, and from time to time, and at all times hereafter, act according to, and put in due and effectual execution, and submit and conform in all things unto such orders, directions, additions, alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, relating to the constitution, continuance, determination, rights, powers, or privileges of the said Company, or the government thereof, or of the said governor and Company; or the encouragement, management, regulation, or advancement of trade; or of the present or future joint stock of the said Company; or concerning any future subscriptions, to be made by way of increase or addition to the joint stock; or for ascertaining the true values of the said joint stock, at and during the times of any such future subscriptions; which, and as we, our heirs or successors, by the advice of our or their privy council, shall from time to time, at any time before the 29th day of September which shall be in the year 1694, think fit to make, insert, limit, direct, appoint, or express in or by any further or other

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charter, letters-patents, or other writing or instrument, under our or their great seal of England, then and in each and every of the cases aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for us, our heirs and successors, by letters-patents, under our or their great seal of England, to determine, revoke, and make void these presents, and the grant hereby made." A.D. 1694.

Effect given to the proviso.

The object of this proviso evidently was to bind the Company to the acceptance of those conditions which the House of Commons had embodied in a series of resolutions already referred to; and accordingly, in little more than a month after the date of the above charter, effect was given to the proviso by another charter, in which, with several not unimportant modifications, the parliamentary resolutions were enforced. In this new charter, dated 11th November, 1693, after a repetition of the proviso, and a preamble stating, *inter alia*, the importance of the traffic to the East Indies, and the desirableness of rendering it "more national, general, and extensive than hitherto it hath been," the Company are taken bound to accept and agree to a series of propositions, of which the most important are—that all subjects of the British crown, whether natural born, or "naturalized and endenized," shall be entitled to become members of the Company; that £744,000 shall be added to the present general joint stock "by the new subscriptions of such persons who shall be minded to adventure any share; that no person shall subscribe or hold more than £10,000 of stock in his own or any other name; that the new subscriptions, if exceeding in the aggregate £744,000, shall be individually reduced *pro rata;* that every £1000 up to £10,000 shall give a vote, thus allowing to the individual possessed of the maximum of stock ten votes in all; that the qualification for a committee shall be £1000, and for governor and deputy-governor £4000; that all dividends shall be paid in money; that no private trade shall be permitted; that with the exception of saltpetre sold to the crown, all sales shall be public, by inch of candle; that no single lot of goods, except jewels, shall exceed £500 in value; and that British produce and manufactures should be annually exported to the amount of £100,000.

Dissatisfaction with the new charters.

These clauses, though binding the Company to conditions which must have prevented many of the abuses of which their previous management was accused, not only fell far short of what their avowed opponents had anticipated, but failed to satisfy the public mind; and the question having again been keenly agitated, and brought specially before parliament by a petition praying for the erection of a new East India Company, the House of Commons "examined the charters of the old Company, the book of new subscriptions, the state of their present stock, and the petition above mentioned; and after mature deliberation" resolved, on the 19th of January, 1694, "that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament." The point thus summarily decided by one branch of the legislature was properly a question of law; and several years before, under very different circum-

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A.D. 1695. stances, had undergone a lengthened discussion in the Court of King's Bench. In the year 1683, when the crown was stretching its prerogative to the utmost, the East India Company, deeming the time favourable for obtaining an authoritative decision in favour of the validity of their charter, determined to try the question, and with that view brought an action against Thomas Sandys for attempting to trade within the limits to which they had, by their charter, an exclusive right. Sandys argued that the Company was a monopoly, and being consequently struck at by the statute against monopolies, had usurped powers which, however sanctioned by the crown, could not be legally maintained. The case, of which a full report is given in the state trials, under the title of the "Great Case of Monopolies," attracted much attention; and having been fully argued by the ablest counsel at the bar, was not finally decided till 1685, when James II. had mounted the throne, and Jeffreys was lord chief-justice. The decision, as might have been expected in the circumstances, was in favour of the royal prerogative, and found that "the grant to the plaintiffs of the sole trade to the Indies, exclusive of others, is a good grant." The victory which the Company thus gained was more apparent than real. The decision was in their favour, but the argument was clearly against them; and the maintenance of their monopoly became in consequence identified, in the public mind, with that of despotism. Hence, when the Revolution had made way for the establishment of constitutional freedom, their position became insecure, and every new discussion of their privileges seemed only to bring them nearer to the brink of destruction. The resolution of the House of Commons was indeed a virtual repeal of their monopoly, because it declared that nothing but an act of parliament could make it valid.

Great case of monopolies.

Endeavours of Company to obtain an act of parliament.

There was still, however, good ground to hope that such an act of parliament might yet be obtained. The king, by the charters which he had granted, had gone as far as he could safely do in their favour; and it was well understood, that while many of the members of the legislature were sincerely attached to their interests, because convinced that the trade to the East Indies could be best carried on by the present Company, there were others on whom, after argument had failed, another kind of influence might be brought to bear. What this influence was, and how unscrupulously the managers of the Company had employed it, soon became apparent.

Extensive bribery and corruption.

Several instances of bribery and corruption in the administration of public offices having been detected, rumours began to prevail that the whole body politic was corrupt. Suspicion fell especially upon the city of London and the East India Company; and on the 7th of March, 1695, the House of Commons appointed a committee to inspect the books of these two bodies. The guilt of the former was easily established, as the chamberlain's books contained an entry bearing that 1000 guineas had been paid to Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House of Commons, on the 22d of June, 1694, as a douceur for his pains about

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a bill brought into parliament under the name of the "Orphans' Bill." The guilt of the Company was not so easily established, though enough was at once discovered to show that bribery to an enormous extent must have been carried on. From an abstract obtained from the Company's books, it appeared that from 1688 to 1694 inclusive, £107,013, 12*s.* 7*d.* had been paid in cash for what was called the "Company's special service." In 1693, when Sir Thomas Cooke was governor and Francis Tyssen deputy-governor, the sum issued under this head was £87,402, 12*s.* 3*d.* On searching for the orders for this issue, the committee discovered a minute of a court of committees, dated the 13th of April, 1693, and stating, *inter alia,* "The governor this day acquainting the court with what proceedings had been made in their affairs towards granting a new charter, and with what had been disburst by him in prosecution thereof, the court approved of the said charges, and ordered a warrant to be made out for the same; and returned him thanks for his great care, pains, and trouble in their service, desiring him to proceed in the perfecting thereof." Two other minutes to a similar effect were found, together with one dated the 23d of November, 1693, in which "it is ordered that the cashier-general do from time to time make payment of such sums of money for carrying on of the Company's service as the governor shall direct, pursuant to the sense of the present debate."

A.D. 1695.

Bribery.

Employment of secret service money.

In regard to the disposal of the money, the committee reported that they had been unable to obtain any further account than that it was for special service, and that a large part of it had been put into the hands of Sir Basil Firebrace. On examining the Company's cash-book, they found a balance at their credit of £124,249, 15*s.* 10*d.*; but on asking Mr. Portmans, the cashier, if he had the same in cash, he answered that he had not, and in its stead produced the following voucher by Sir Thomas Cooke:—"Received, the 10th of January, 1693 [1694], of Mr. Edmond Portmans, for account of the East India Company, £90,000; which I have disburst and paid for £99,197 stock, in the East India Company, for their account; which I promise to be accountable for on account of the East India Company; and was by order of the Company the 24th of November, 1693." No such amount of stock had been transferred to the Company's account; but the committee, on examining Sir Benjamin Bathurst, one of the Company's court of committees, were told by him, that "finding so great a sum as £30,000 charged for secret services, he had some warm discourse with Sir Thomas Cooke about it, to know how it was disburst; but he refused to give him any particulars, and told him he should remember he was bound by his oath to the Company to keep their secrets." Sir Benjamin added, that "about April, 1694, understanding they were in want of money, he looked into the cash-book; which casting up, he found a considerable sum in cash; and taking some persons with him, discoursed Sir Thomas Cooke thereof, who said the £90,000 he had received was to gratify some persons in case the bill should pass."

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A.D. 1695.

Singular contract.

Beside the above suspicious payments, the committee discovered a contract of a very singular description. It bore the date of the 26th of February, 1694; and bound the Company to pay for 200 tons of saltpetre, to be brought home in the ship *Seymour* from India, the sum of £12,000, together with £25 freight per ton to the owners of the ship, besides all charges in England. It seems that this saltpetre, for which £12,000 was to be paid, could be purchased in India for £2000; and this sum was actually advanced by the Company for that purpose, and not only so, but they also granted bond under the Company's seal for £10,000, as the remaining balance payable by a certain day, whether the ship should arrive in safety or not. The result of the contract is thus accurately explained by the committee:—"The Company runs the adventure of £12,000 for that which cost only £2000, and must consequently lose £12,000 if the ship miscarry; and on the contrary, the seller on the other hand gets £10,000 clear without disbursing or running the hazard of one penny; and what is yet more, a certain loss of £9000 or £10,000 will attend it if the ship arrive in safety."

Parliamentary proceedings.

The report of the committee was made on the 12th of March, 1695; and on the 18th the House of Commons resolved, "that whosoever shall discover any money or other gratuity given to any member of this house for matters transacted in this house relating to the orphans' bill or the East India Company, shall have the indemnity of this house for such gift." On the 26th it was ordered, "that Sir Thomas Cooke, a member of this house, do give an account to the house how the £87,402, 12*s.* 3*d.* mentioned in the report was distributed." When examined he refused to answer, and was committed to the Tower. At the same time a bill was ordered to be brought in for the purpose of obliging him to give an account. So much were the house in earnest that, in little more than a week, the bill, though counsel was heard against it, was passed and carried to the House of Lords. When it was read there for the first time it was vehemently opposed by the Duke of Leeds, lord-president of the council, who commenced with a most solemn protestation of his cleanness and innocence, and laying his hand upon his breast, declared upon his faith and honour "that he was perfectly disinterested, and had no part or concern in this matter, and therefore might the better appear against it." Sir Thomas Cooke, being brought from the Tower to the bar of the lords, declared himself ready and very willing to make a full discovery on obtaining an indemnifying vote; and as the reports of the period express it, "bemoaned himself (weeping) that he was not indemnified at that instant, so that he might just then make the discovery which was expected, and which he was so desirous to make." On being asked what he wanted to be indemnified from, he answered, "All actions and suits, except from the East India Company, whom, if he had injured, he would be bound to undergo the utmost rigour." He also desired, he said, to be indemnified from *scandalums*, which he explained to mean the action of *scandalum magnatum.*

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A.D. 1695.

The lords sisted procedure with the bill sent up from the commons, and introduced a bill of indemnity, which was ultimately passed. The preamble and leading enacting clause of the act are as follows:—"Whereas it appears, by the books of the East India Company, that Sir Thomas Cooke, knight, in the year 1693, being the governor of the said Company, did receive, out of the stock and treasure belonging to the same, the sum of £77,258, and hath also received out of the stock and treasure of the said Company the further sum of £90,000: And whereas a true discovery of the distribution and application of the said several sums of money will be of public use and service, and is necessary to the vindicating the justice and honour of the government; and the said Sir Thomas Cooke hath voluntarily offered to make such discovery, so as he may be indemnified in such manner as is hereafter mentioned and provided: Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that, if the said Sir Thomas Cooke shall, on or before the 23d day of April, 1695, make a true and full discovery on oath, before a committee of the lords and commons, to be appointed by each house for that purpose, how and in what manner, and to what person or persons, and to what particular uses, intents, and purposes, and on what account, the said sum of £90,000, and the sum of £67,000, part of the said sum of £77,258, have been distributed, paid, applied, disposed, and made use of, then the said Sir Thomas Cooke shall not, by reason or means of such discovery, be liable to any action or suit of any person or persons whatsoever, other than the said East India Company, nor shall such discovery or confession be allowed or given in evidence against him in or upon any action or suit, other than as aforesaid; and also shall be declared pardoned and indemnified for any crime he may be guilty of in the distribution, payment, application, or disposal of the said money, to any person other than to himself."

Sir Thomas Cooke's bill of indemnity.

When examined before the committee of both houses appointed in terms of this act, Sir Thomas Cooke produced a written statement, entitled, "A true and full discovery, upon oath, made by Sir Thomas Cooke, to the best of his knowledge, &c., . . . which discovery is in pursuance of an act of this present session of parliament." This statement contained the names of the various parties to whom cash had been paid to the amount of £67,031, 18*s*. 2*d*., and of others from whom East India stock, to the amount of £90,000, had been bought for account of the East India Company. Among the cash items were £10,000 "delivered to Francis Tyssen, Esq., for the special service of the Company;" £10,000 to Mr. Richard Acton, "to defray the expenses of himself, and for his friends' soliciting to prevent a new settlement of an East India Company, and to endeavour the establishment of the old;" £10,000 to Sir Basil Firebrace, "in recompense of his trouble in prosecuting the Company's affairs, and in consideration of other losses he had sustained by neglecting his own business, and by

His disclosures.

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A.D. 1695. not engaging himself with the interloping ships." An additional sum of £30,000 was set down as having been paid "to the said Sir Basil for £50 per cent. loss on stock I was obliged to accept of him at £150 per cent. on the Company's account." On being interrogated with reference to the above statement, Sir Thomas Cooke declared "that the first sum of £10,000 above mentioned was given in expectation to have the charter of the East India Company confirmed, and new regulations thereto made," and that "it was intended for the king, but he could not say the king had it," though "he believes Mr. Tyssen told him that he delivered it to Sir Josiah Child, who delivered it to the king." He added that "it was a customary present, and that in King Charles's and other former reigns, the like had been done for several years." With regard to the £10,000 paid to Mr. Acton, he declared that he had given it with the privity of Sir Josiah Child, "who recommended Acton as a person capable of doing the Company service, having great acquaintance with parliament men, and others who had interest with them;" that "he could not particularize who they were, but the end aimed at was to get an act of parliament." The sums paid to Sir Basil Firebrace were stated to be in implement of an agreement, by which the Company became bound, in case the charter passed, to take £60,000 stock of Sir Basil at £150 per cent. As the stock was then only £100 per cent., the Company lost £30,000 by the transaction. By another agreement of a similar nature, they would have been bound to accept a transfer of £40,000 stock on the same terms, if an act of parliament in favour of the Company had been obtained.

Cooke's disclosures.

Depositions of parties examined.

In following up the inquiry, various other persons were examined. Sir Josiah Child affected general ignorance of the matter, and said that "he never disposed of £10 of the Company's money to his remembrance." He admitted, however, that "he did recommend Mr. Acton as being an honest man, and thought he might do service to the Company in parliament, because of his acquaintances." He also recommended "that a present of £50,000 should be made to the king, if his majesty would so far waive his prerogative that an act of parliament might be passed for settling the Company; but Mr. Tyssen told him the king would not meddle in that matter." He "knew nothing of the £40,000 paid to Sir Basil Firebrace, but there was a kind of a company of twenty-five persons, that sat *de die in diem*, to destroy the Company, and he told Sir Thomas Cooke that he thought Sir Basil the fittest person to divide them."

Sir Josiah Child.

Sir Basil Firebrace.

Sir Basil Firebrace, when first examined, admitted the payments as stated by Sir Thomas Cooke, viz.—£10,000 as a gratuity for losses, and £30,000 in terms of contract. Both sums "were directly for himself, and for the use of no other person whatsoever; he paid no part of the same towards procuring a charter or act of parliament, nor made any promises to do so, but he had several discourses with Sir Thomas Cooke about using his endeavours to procure a new charter." Being asked "what particular services he did or was to do for

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procuring a new charter," he said "that he wished he might answer that at some other time, being not well, not having slept two or three nights, and being much indisposed as to his health; that he was unwilling to take too much upon himself, but thought he did great service to the Company in solicitation and other services." On the following day, having desired to be called in, he deposed, "that having had a treaty with Mr. Bates, whom he thought able to do service in passing the charter, and to have acquaintance with several persons of honour," he gave him two notes, the one for 3000 and the other for 2500 guineas, payable to Mr. Bates or bearer. The latter note was paid after the charter for restoring the East India Company passed; the other after the charter for regulation passed. These notes were from Sir Thomas Cooke, who, he believed, "did know how they were to be disposed of." In fact, Mr. Bates had introduced Sir Basil several times to the Duke of Leeds, the lord-president, "who made some scruples in point of law." A.D. 1695.

Mr. Bates deponed "that Sir Basil Firebrace did apply himself to him to use his interest for obtaining a charter to the East India Company:" that "he did use his interest with the lord-president, who said he would do what service he could: that he received 5000 guineas, told the lord-president of the fact, and urged the same upon his lordship's acceptance, but he refused it." He admitted, however, that "in regard he could not tell money very well himself," he "did ask leave of my lord that his servant might tell the money." His lordship gave leave, and accordingly his lordship's servant, M. Robert, "did receive the money." At first Bates alleged that M. Robert paid over the money to him, but on a subsequent examination he admitted that he had it not, and that it had remained with Robert till within the last few days, when Robert had brought it to him for the purpose of being given back to Sir Basil Firebrace. His reason for thus paying back the guineas was "the noise that it made, and that people might think he did not deserve them." More light was thrown on this disclosure by Sir Basil, who, when again examined, stated "that the East India Company's charter being forfeited, Sir Thomas Cooke was apprehensive "that it stuck with the Duke of Leeds," and told him that "some way must be found out to the duke." Sir Basil thereupon applied to Mr. Bates, who, after a good deal of higgling, agreed to accept of 5000 guineas for his friend, and 500 guineas to himself. Sir Thomas Cooke sanctioned the agreement, remarking that if "it was insisted on it must be done." The agreement was that "if the duke did act in favour of the Company, he should have 2000 and 3000 guineas, and Bates 500 guineas for himself." Sir Basil added, "that from the time the notes were given, they had free access to the lord-president, and found him easy and willing to give them his assistance." Mr. Bates.

Mr. Tyssen deponed that "Sir Thomas Cooke and Sir Josiah Child gave him a note under their hands for £50,000, which was intended to be presented to his majesty if his majesty would pass an act of parliament as they should desire, Mr. Tyssen.

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A.D. 1695.

and that he acquainted my Lord Portland with the Company's intention to make such a present; who told the deponent that the king would not meddle with it." On being asked "if he had offered the same to Lord Portland, he denied that he had so done, saying, if he had, he must never have seen his face more."

Impeachment of the Duke of Leeds.

That bribery to an enormous extent had been carried on, there could now be no doubt, but the only case in which, as yet, it seemed capable of being proved, was that of the Duke of Leeds, against whom, accordingly, the commons resolved to proceed by impeachment. On the reading of the report of the committee in the House of Lords, the duke rose in his place and said that "as he had formerly protested himself to be free in this matter, so he still denied, upon his faith and honour, that he was guilty of any such corruptions as were suggested against him, and that if the whole truth were laid open it would tend to his honour and advantage." His explanation was, "that Mr. Bates introduced Sir Basil Firebrace to him, and that he had conferences with Sir Basil upon the subject of the East India Company, which Sir Basil was concerned for; that some time

Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds.—From print after Sir P. Lely.

The duke's explanation

after Mr. Bates came and informed him that he was to have a sum of money of Sir Basil, and desired his lordship to lend him one of his servants, Mr. Bates keeping but a footman, to receive the money, and so he lent him M. Robert; that his lordship knew nothing of the sum, but afterwards Mr. Bates came to him and told him he had received 5000 guineas, which he offered to him, telling his lordship that he had been very obliging and kind to him, and that in acknowledgment of the many favours he had received from his lordship's hands, he humbly desired him to accept of them, which he refusing, Mr. Bates pressed him earnestly to take one-half or a quarter, which he still refused, declaring he would not touch a penny of them; and told him since he had taken them, he thought there was no need of returning them—they were his own, and he wished him good luck with them." While the duke was making this apology, or rather confession, he got private notice that the commons were preparing to impeach him. Startled at the news he hastened off, and intimated, through one of the members, his desire to be heard. Permission was given, and he made a long and apparently rambling speech, without making any favourable impression, for the impeachment was immediately carried up to the lords. The first article, containing the substance of the whole, was as follows:—"That certain merchants trading to

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the East Indies, having either forfeited their charter, or being under an apprehension that they had forfeited the same, and having made their humble application to their majesties in council for obtaining a charter of confirmation: the said Duke of Leeds, being then president of their majesties' most honourable privy council, and sworn to give their majesties true and faithful advice, did, contrary to his oath, office, and duty to their majesties, and in breach of the great trust reposed in him, by himself, his agents, or servants, corruptly and illegally treat, contract, and agree with the said merchants or their agents, for 5500 guineas, to procure the said charter of confirmation, and also a charter of regulations, or to use his endeavours to obtain the same." A.D. 1695.

By some strange oversight the duke's servant, M. Robert, whom the previous deposition had shown to be a most important witness, had not been examined, and when the necessary steps for the purpose were about to be taken, it was found that he had disappeared. A tardy proclamation for securing him was issued, but it proved unavailing; and thus an essential link in the chain of evidence could not be supplied. The Duke of Leeds, now feeling confident that the impeachment could not be made good, began to use the language of injured innocence, and to complain of the hardship and injustice of having a charge hanging over his head, while no attempt was made to prove, and no opportunity was given him to disprove it. The state of matters was, however, well understood, and his shuffling only served to confirm the conviction generally entertained of his guilt. Meanwhile parliament seemed resolved to do its duty; and as the leading witnesses were justly suspected of prevarication or concealment, an act was passed for imprisoning them, and for restraining them from alienating their estates. Unfortunately, the zeal manifested by parliament was not seconded at court. At a very early period of the inquiry, the king, after giving the royal assent to several bills, addressed both houses as follows:—"My lords and gentlemen, I take this occasion to tell you that the season of the year is so far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs are so pressing, that I very earnestly recommend to you the speedy despatching such business as you think of most importance for the public good, because I must put an end to this session in a few days." From this significant hint, it was well understood that there was a strong feeling in high quarters against the exposure to which the parliamentary inquiry into bribery and corruption threatened to lead; and in fact, on the 3d of May, within a fortnight after the hint was given, and while the issue of the inquiry was still in suspense, parliament was prorogued. According to Burnet, "It was intended to hang up the matter to another session; but an act of grace came in at the end of this, with an exception, indeed, as to corruption; yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed too many of all sides were concerned in it; for, by a common consent, it was never revived."

Suspicious disappearance of an important witness.

The king's address to parliament.

There cannot be a doubt that the Company suffered severely in public estimation by the disclosure, so far as it had gone. A distinction, however, ought

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A.D. 1695.

to be made between the Company and the management. This had been gradually monopolized by Sir Josiah Child and a few wealthy individuals, who, taking undue advantage of the unlimited power of purchasing stock, and of voting upon it, had succeeded in ousting most of the independent members of committee, and supplanting them by their own creatures. On them, therefore, the chief blame ought to rest; more especially as the general court of proprietors, even before the parliamentary inquiry commenced, had been induced, in consequence of the rumours which had begun to prevail, to appoint a committee "to inspect into the affairs of the general joint stock under the management of the court of committees, and of the several transactions that had been had therein, for the satisfaction of the adventurers." The report of the committee thus appointed, had furnished most of the leading facts, which were afterwards more fully brought out by the parliamentary investigation.

A Scotch East India Company.

While the Company were suffering severely in public estimation from these shameful disclosures, an alarm arose from a different quarter. Scotland and England, though their crowns were now worn by a single monarch, were still separate and independent kingdoms, and there was therefore nothing to prevent the former from having its East India Company as well as the latter. Indeed, as early as 1617, King James had given his sanction to such a company, by granting letters-patent under the great seal of Scotland, to Sir James Cunningham, of Glengarnock, appointing him, his heirs and assignees, to be its governors and directors, with authority "to trade to and from the East Indies, and the countries or parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Bona Sperantia to the Straits of Magellan, and to the Levant Sea, and territories under the government of the Great Turk, and to and from the countries of Greenland, and all the countries and islands in the north, north-west, and northeast seas, and all other parts of America and Muscovy." Whatever may have been the original intention of this grant, it ultimately degenerated into a mere job for the benefit of the grantee, who sold it, and all his rights under it, for a valuable consideration. The purchasers were the London East India Company, who thus escaped the danger of a competition, which in honest and skilful hands might have proved formidable. This abortive attempt to give Scotland a trade to the East appears to have attracted little notice; and other interests, of a still more vital nature, so completely occupied the public mind during the persecuting reigns of the Stuarts, that the better part of a century elapsed before the subject was again mooted. The better era which commenced with the Revolution brought new desires and aspirations along with it, and a general desire was felt by patriotic Scotsmen to give their country as high a place in commerce as it had already attained in liberty, religion, and arms. The influence exerted with this view on the public mind, was soon manifested in parliament, which, on the 14th June, 1693, passed an "Act for encouraging of Forraigne Trade," in which "our soveraigne lord and ladye, the king and

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queen's majesties, considering how much the improvement of trade concerns the wealth and wellfare of the kingdom, and that nothing hath been found more effectuall for the improving and enlargeing thereof than the erecting and encourageing of companies, whereby the same may be carryed on by undertakeings to the remotest parts, which it is not possible for single persons to undergo, doe therefore, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, statute and declare, that merchants more or fewer may contract and enter into societies and companies for carrying on of trade, as to any subject and sort of goodes and merchandice to whatsoever kingdoms, countreyes, or parts of the world, not being in warr with their majesties, where trade is in use to be, or may be followed, and particularly beside the kingdoms and countreyes of Europe, to the East and West Indies, to the straits and trade of the Mediterranean, or upon the coast of Affrica, or northern parts, or elsewhere, as above." By a subsequent act, dated 26th June, 1695, John, Lord Belhaven, and various individuals specially named, including beside Scottish, several English and foreign merchants, "together with such others as shall joyn with them within the space of twelve moneths after the first day of August next," were constituted "a free incorporation, with perpetual succession, by the name of the Company of Scotland tradeing to Affrica and the Indies." Half the capital was to be "allotted for Scottish men within this kingdom;" but it was allowed to "Scotsmen residing abroad or forraigners to come in and subscribe," the least sum being £100 and the greatest £3000. In carrying on their trade the company were "impowered to equip, fitt, set out, fraught, and navigate their own or hired ships in such manner as they shall think fitt, and that for the space of ten years from the date hereof," and "from any of the ports or places of this kingdom, or from any other ports or places in amity, or not in hostility with his majesty, in warlike or other manner, to any lands, islands, countreyes, or places in Asia, Affrica, or America, and there to plant collonies, build cityes, touns, or forts, on or upon the places not inhabited, or on or upon any other place by consent of the natives or inhabitants thereof, and not possest by an European sovereign potentate, prince, or state;" they were also fully authorized not only to defend themselves by "force of arms," but "to seeke and take reparation of damage done by sea or land, and to make and conclude treaties of peace with the soveraigns, princes, estates, rulers, governors, or proprietors of the foresaid lands, islands, countreyes, or places in Asia, Affrica, or America."

A.D. 1695.

Capital subscribed.

Beside these extensive powers, which were declared to be exclusive, no subject of Scotland being permitted without the company's written permission to trade within these limits, various extraordinary privileges were conferred. Among others it was declared that "all persons concerned or to be concerned in this company" were "to be free denizens of this kingdom," and that "they with all that shall settle to inhabit, or be born in any of the foresaid plantations, collonies, cityes, touns, factories, and other places, that shall be purchast and

Special privileges.

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A.D. 1695.

possesst by the said company, shall be repute as natives of this kingdom, and have the priviledges thereof;" and that for the space of twenty-one years, the company's ships, goods, and other effects whatsover, were to be "free of all manner of restraints or prohibitions, and of all customs, taxes, cesses, supplies, or other duties imposed or to be imposed by act of parliament or otherwise;" with the exception only of the duties on tobacco and sugar, not the growth of their own plantations. This privilege is made still broader by a subsequent clause, which provides that "the said company, whole members, officers, servants, or others belonging thereto, shall be free, both in their persons, estates, and goods, employed in the said stock and trade, from all manner of taxes, cesses, supplies, excises, quartering of souldiers, transient or local, or leavying of souldiers, or other impositions whatsoever;" and lest the power given to the company to redress themselves should prove inadequate, his majesty expressly promises, that if "contrar to the said rights, liberties, privileges, exemptions, grants, or agreements, any of the ships, goods, merchandise, persons, or other effects whatsoever, belonging to the said company, shall be stopped, detained, embazled, or away taken, or in any sort prejudged or damnifyed," he will "interpose his authority to have restitution, reparation, and satisfaction made for the damnage done, and that upon the publick charge, which his majesty shall cause depurse and lay out for that effect."

Special privileges.

Popularity of the new company in Scotland.

The liberality which parliament had displayed in conferring such ample privileges was fully seconded by the country at large. In a short time a subscription list, such as Scotland had never before seen, was filled up. The amount was £400,000; and the list contained the names of 1219 shareholders, among whom were most of the leading nobility, the public bodies, clergy, lawyers, merchants, and a large selection of individuals of all classes, thus proving beyond a doubt that the formation of the company was the effect of a great national movement. Liberal as the home subscription had thus been, a large addition was anticipated from other countries; and the managers, among whom the celebrated William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, took the lead, despatched commissioners to London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, with authority to open new subscription lists, and confer the privileges of the company on all who might be induced by these representations to apply for them.

The English parliament takes alarm.

The English parliament, on being acquainted with these proceedings, immediately took alarm; and having their attention specially called to the subject by a petition of their own Company, proceeded, on the 13th December, 1695, to present a common address from both houses to the crown. This address proceeds as follows:—"The lords spiritual and temporal and commons, in parliament assembled, having taken into our consideration the state of the trade of this kingdom, do find that, besides many other disadvantages and difficulties it now lies under, an act of parliament that hath lately received your majesty's royal

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assent in your kingdom of Scotland, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the Indies, is likely to bring many prejudices and mischiefs to all your majesty's subjects that are concerned in the wealth and trade of this nation." After quoting largely from the act in support of this allegation, it thus continues:— "By reason of which great advantages granted to the Scots East India Company, and the duties and difficulties that lie upon that trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation will be carried thither, and by this means Scotland will be made a free port for all East India commodities; and consequently those several places which were supplied from England will be furnished from thence much cheaper than can be done by the English; and therefore this nation will lose the benefit of supplying foreign parts with those commodities, which hath always been a great article in the balance of our foreign trade. Moreover, the said commodities will unavoidably be brought by the Scots into England by stealth, both by sea and land, to the vast prejudice of the English trade and navigation, and to the great detriment of your majesty in your customs." A.D. 1695.

Awkward position of the king.

The king was thus placed in a very awkward predicament. He could not question the competency of parliament to grant the act complained of without attacking the national independence, and disappointing what had become one of the national hopes of Scotland; nor could he continue to sanction the act without placing himself in decided opposition to the legislature of England, and some of the most strongly cherished prejudices of the English people. He therefore answered somewhat vaguely, "I have been ill served in Scotland, but I hope some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniencies which may arise from this act;" and shortly after showed that he was really dissatisfied with the management of his ministers in Scotland by dismissing most of them from office. The English parliament took still more decided steps; and on receiving the report of a committee which had been appointed to examine the methods by which the act had been obtained, and the proceedings under it, the commons resolved, "that the directors of the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, administering and taking here an oath *de fideli*, and under colour of a Scots act styling themselves a company, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and that the Lord Belhaven, William Paterson (and other individuals named), be impeached of the same." This resolution, violent as it undoubtedly was in its nature, and offensive in its terms, was not beyond the competency of the English parliament; and therefore, however much it must have roused the indignation of the Scots, did not properly furnish matter for formal complaint. Another step, however, was of a more objectionable nature.

Proceedings at Hamburg.

The Scots company had, as already mentioned, sent a deputation to Hamburg, and had every prospect of obtaining a liberal subscription, when all their hopes were frustrated by hostility from an unexpected quarter. The nature of the hostility will be best explained by a memorial presented on the 7th of

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A.D. 1697.

April, 1697, and subscribed by his Britannic majesty's envoy extraordinary at the courts of Lüneburg, and his resident in the city of Hamburg. In this document, addressed to the senate of this city, the memorialists express themselves as follows:—"We, the subscribers, ministers of his majesty the King of Great Britain, have, upon the arrival of commissioners from an Indian company in Scotland, represented at two several times to your magnificences and lordships from the king our master, that his majesty, understanding that the said commissioners endeavoured to open to themselves a commerce and trade in these parts, by making some convention or treaty with this city, had commanded us most expressly to notify to your magnificences and lordships, that if you enter into such conventions with private men his subjects, who have neither credential letters, nor are any other ways authorized by his majesty, that his majesty would regard such proceedings as an affront to his royal authority, and that he would not fail to resent it. Your magnificences and lordships had the goodness to answer us thereto by your deputy that you would no way enter into commerce with the aforesaid commissioners, nor encourage them in any sort. Notwithstanding whereof, we, the subscribers, do see with displeasure that, without any regard to the remonstrances made by us in the name of his majesty, the inhabitants of this city forbear not to make conventions and treaties with the said commissioners, who dare even erect a public office to receive subscriptions, as appears by the annexed print. And it is not very credible that strangers could so openly enterprise matters of such importance without being supported by this government: wherefore we make our just complaints thereof to your magnificences and lordships, beseeching you, in the name of the king our master, to remedy in time that which is begun, and to do it so effectually as to prevent any consequences it may have, capable to disturb the friendship and good correspondence which we would cultivate between England and the city of Hamburg. We wait your magnificences' and lordships' answer in writing, to be transmitted to his majesty our master."

Memorial by the British envoy.

Answer by the Hamburg merchants.

This memorial, which contains a gross misrepresentation of the character of the Scotch commissioners, and amounted in fact to a most unwarrantable interference with the independent rights both of Scotland and Hamburg, having been transmitted by the senate to the Commercir, or general body of merchants, called forth the following answer:—"We look upon it as a very strange thing, that the King of Britain should hinder us, who are a free people, to trade with whom we please; but are amazed to think that he would hinder us from joining with his own subjects in Scotland, to whom he had lately given such large privileges by so solemn an act of parliament." This answer unquestionably placed the matter in its true light; but the Hamburg merchants, though they signed for considerable sums in the company's books, were too cautious to commit themselves finally, and appended a condition making their subscriptions void, "if the company did not procure some declaration from the

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king that might secure them against the threatenings and other insinuations contained in the memorial." A.D. 1697.

Subsequent proceedings.

It was now the first business of the Scottish company to endeavour to obtain the declaration for which their subscribers in Hamburg had stipulated; and accordingly, on the 28th June, 1697, their council-general presented an address to the king, in which, after enumerating their legal rights, and the prejudice which they had sustained by the interference of individuals acting in his majesty's name, they applied for the protection to which they were entitled by "natural right and the privilege of all merchants whatsoever, even though they had wanted the sanction of so solemn laws, and more especially for such declaration as in your royal wisdom you shall think fit to render the senate and inhabitants of the said city of Hamburg, and all others that are or may be concerned, from the threatenings or other suggestions" which the memorial contained. As the king had evidently been brought into a false position, and could not have justified the proceedings of the memorialists without throwing all Scotland into a flame, the Scotch secretaries, after the lapse of more than a month, answered as follows:—"We are empowered by the king to signify unto you that as soon as his majesty shall return to England he will take into consideration what you have represented unto him, and that in the meantime his majesty will give order to his envoy at the courts of Lüneburg and his resident at Hamburg not to make use of his majesty's name or authority for obstructing your company in the prosecution of your trade with the inhabitants of that city."

Ultimate extinction of the Scotch company.

This answer, though little better than an evasion, promised more than was actually performed; and new remonstrances by the company proved unavailing, till the general dissatisfaction which had begun to prevail, obliged the king to reply that the promise of his secretaries had been fulfilled, and his residents abroad distinctly prohibited from further interference. Matters, however, appeared to be drawing to a crisis, when the proceedings of the Scotch company freed the king from his embarrassments, and paved the way for their own ultimate extinction. They were expressly prohibited from attempting to settle on any territory belonging to a power in amity with Britain. The site of the Isthmus of Darien, situated between the Atlantic and the Pacific, seemed so advantageous that all other considerations were lost sight of, and the first expedition fitted out by the company attempted to settle upon it. Spain, which claimed the territory, immediately remonstrated, and King William appears to have been only too glad to second their remonstrance. The consequence was, that the Scots, instead of being permitted to establish a trade, found themselves suddenly engaged single-handed in a war with the Spanish monarchy. For a time they fought the battle manfully, but disaster followed disaster. Of the 3000 men whom Scotland had sent out to the isthmus, only a small remnant returned; and the company trading to Africa and the Indies, after exciting so many hopes

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A.D. 1698.

in the northern, and so many fears in the southern part of Great Britain, ceased to exist.

Inducements to form a new English company.

The discussions to which the establishment of the Scotch East India Company had given rise, and the obloquy which the London India Company had incurred by the nefarious proceedings of those who had usurped its management, had made the English legislature fully alive to the importance of placing the trade to the East on a new and permanent basis. The shape which the measure might have taken, had parliament been left at liberty to choose the wisest plan, would perhaps have differed much from that which was adopted; but circumstances had occurred which rendered a new arrangement expedient, not only on its account, but with a view to other purposes to which it might be made subservient. The powerful coalition which King William had formed to frustrate the ambitious designs of the King of France required an enormous expenditure, and the necessity of obtaining the necessary funds to meet it seemed for a time to outweigh all other considerations. It had thus become obvious that the question which had long been keenly debated between the existing India Company and the numerous party now leagued in opposition to them, would be determined not so much on its own merits as on mere pecuniary considerations. The government was in urgent want of money. What amount of contribution were the candidates for its favour prepared to furnish? On this low and unworthy ground the question of continuing the old, or of erecting a new company was now to be settled by act of parliament. The offer of the old Company was a loan of £700,000 at four per cent. interest: their opponents offered £2,000,000, at eight per cent., and obtained the preference. Considering the different rates of interest, the smaller loan was certainly the more advantageous to the public, but the greater amount of present relief which the larger loan afforded, was eagerly grasped at and carried the day. Ostensibly, however, the preference given to it was justified, not merely by the amount of the loan, but by the terms on which it was offered. The old Company stipulated that the legislature should confirm their charter, and continue them in possession of all their privileges as a joint stock. Their rivals repudiated the idea of a joint stock, and asked only to be incorporated, at least in the first instance, as a regulated company, which would allow every member to trade in his own name and on his own responsibility to the amount of his subscribed capital. This arrangement being in accordance with the more liberal ideas which the Restoration had introduced, was supposed to possess intrinsic merits, which, even if other considerations had been equal, would have entitled it to be preferred.

Discussions on the subject.

The resolution in favour of a new East India Company was adopted by the House of Commons on 4th May, 1698, and on the 26th a bill was brought in for the purpose of giving effect to it. It was strenuously opposed in all its stages, the old Company being allowed to appear by counsel against it, but ultimately

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passed both houses by considerable majorities, and obtained the royal assent. The old Company, though powerfully supported, had lost favour with the public by the acts of bribery which had been proved against them; and even during the discussion of the bill which doomed them to extinction, had sustained new damage from the report of a parliamentary committee which had been appointed to examine their books; for in this report it was more than insinuated that by a kind of juggle the value of their stock had been greatly exaggerated, and large dividends had been paid, not out of profit, but out of capital. Some of the statements in this report throw so much light on the history of the Company that they deserve to be quoted. The original stock of the Company, in 1657, was £369,891, 5*s*. The aggregate dividends on this stock from October, 1661, to April 1, 1681, amounted to 390½ per cent., or about 19½ per cent. per annum. On 2d November, 1681, their funds were so low that a call was made on the adventurers for the residue of their subscriptions; and yet, on the 18th of January thereafter, circumstances had so suddenly altered that the call was revoked, and instead of it, a dividend of 150 per cent. was declared. Of this dividend, however, only 50 per cent. was paid in money, while the remaining 100 per cent. was retained, and held to be equivalent to a duplication of the original stock, which was accordingly henceforth stated at double its original amount. On this doubled stock dividends had been regularly paid at the rate of 25 per cent. These dividends were always made on the arrival of ships on general computations without the help of the books, or a minute statement of the whole account; and hence, even at the time of making them, the Company were hampered by a large debt, which in 1680 exceeded £500,000, and in 1698 amounted on bond alone to £631,554, 10*s*., exclusive of debts in India to an amount which could not be specified. In 1693, in fulfilment of the conditions of the charter granted them in that year, they opened a new subscription, and received under it £744,000. The only legitimate purpose to which this sum could have been applied was that expressly specified in the charter, viz., to raise the stock of the Company to £1,500,000. The parliamentary committee, after failing to obtain a distinct answer as to the manner in which this sum had been disposed of, consulted the Company's cash-book, and ascertained that a large portion of it had been squandered in the system of bribery which has already been exposed, and that of the remainder no less than £325,565, 0*s*. 4*d*. had been repaid (on what ground is not explained) to the old adventurers. This report, given in at the very time when the Company were maintaining a desperate struggle for existence, must have told fearfully against them.

A.D. 1698.

Report on the affairs of the old Company.

The act which founded the new East India Company ranks as 9 Wm. III. c. 44, and is entitled, "An act for raising a sum not exceeding £2,000,000, upon a fund for payment of annuities, after the rate of £8 per centum per annum, and for settling the trade to the East Indies." It is of great length, and is entirely

Act of parliament establishing a new company.

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A.D. 1698. occupied in its first part with regulating the salt and stamp duties, from which his majesty was to derive the annual sum of £160,000, necessary to pay the interest or annuities exigible at the rate of eight per cent. on the £2,000,000 loan. In regard to the loan itself, the leading provisions are, that "it shall and may be lawful to and for his majesty, by commission under the great seal of England, to take and receive all such voluntary subscriptions as shall be made on or before the 29th day of September, 1698, by or for any person or persons, natives or foreigners, bodies politick or corporate (the governor and company of the Bank of England only excepted), of any sum of money whatsoever, not less than £100, for and towards the raising and paying into the said receipt of the exchequer the said sum of £2,000,000." The whole sum was subject to redemption; but during the non-redemption his majesty might, by letters-patent, incorporate the subscribers under the name of the General Society entitled to the advantages given by this act of parliament. Of the General Society thus incorporated, the sum total of subscriptions was to form the principal stock, and every subscriber to the amount of £500 and upwards was entitled to have one vote, and not more than one, in the election of twenty-four trustees, each of them qualified by the possession of not less than £2000 of the society's stock in his own right. The subscribers, their executors, successors, or assigns, and the persons licensed by them, were to have the privilege of trading to the East Indies, each to the extent of his stock; or if, instead of thus acting individually, the whole or any number of them, or even corporations, should prefer to manage their share of the trade as a company or joint stock, they might be incorporated for this special purpose. In order "to maintain such ambassadors or other ministers" as the crown, at the nomination of the trustees, directors, or managers of the General Society, or of a joint-stock company established as aforesaid, should "be pleased to send to any emperor, prince, or state" within the specified limits, and to "defray any other extraordinary or necessary expense in carrying on the said trade," a duty of five per cent. was to be levied on all India goods imported, but should any surplus remain after these purposes were served, it was not to belong to the state, but to be distributed among the shareholders. The right of trading to the East Indies was in future to belong exclusively to the General Society, subject, however, to two most important provisoes:—first, that on three years' notice after 1711, and the repayment of the £2,000,000, all the rights granted by the act were to cease; and, second, that the old Company might still continue to trade as before, till the 29th of September, 1701. This was meant to be an equivalent for the three years' notice to which they were entitled under their charter, and yet fell far short of it, as the true meaning of the charter undoubtedly was, that while the three years were running, they were to enjoy the whole trade, instead of being subjected, as they now were, to a formidable competition. The equivalent, however, imperfect as it was, was not given without a grudge, and had something like a stigma attached to it by a clause in the act, which expressly

Act establishing a new company.

Notice given to the old Company.

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A.D. 1698.

stipulated that the present East India Company should be bound to pay all their just debts; and should they make dividends after the 24th of June, 1698, and before their debts were discharged, not only would the estate of the Company continue liable, but the individual members receiving such dividends would still be held bound in proportion of their shares, and, moreover, be subjected to the penalty of double costs. The stipulation thus inserted strikingly indicates the general suspicion which now attached to the proceedings of the London Company. Indeed, the language of the legislature evidently implies a doubt, not merely of their ability, but of their willingness to pay. There could not be any good ground for such a doubt; and yet it is impossible to deny that during the last years of their exclusive monopoly they had done too much to justify it.

New joint-stock establishment.

The members of the General Society, though they had originally offered their subscriptions on condition of being established as a regulated, were soon found to be almost unanimous in favour of a joint-stock company; and accordingly, on the 5th of September, 1698, the crown, in accordance with the authority given in the act of parliament, granted a charter, incorporating the vast majority of their number as a company or joint stock, under the name of the English Company trading to the East Indies. The leading provisions of the deed are almost identical with those embodied in the charters of the old Company, and it is therefore unnecessary here to do more than refer to a few of the special clauses. Though the amount of their subscriptions to the £2,000,000 loan formed their proper capital, they were to have an indefinite power of augmenting their stock —one-tenth of their exports was to consist of British produce and manufactures; every shareholder to the amount of £500 was to have a vote, and none, however large his share, was to have more than one; all sales were to be by public auction by inch of candle; and no lot, except consisting of jewels, was to be of the value of more than £1000; the management was to be intrusted, as formerly, to twenty-four individuals, who were to form what was called, not as before, the court of committees, but the "court of directors;" four general courts were to be held annually. Abroad, the same powers of judicature as had been conferred by previous charters were to be exercised, and some provision was made both for general and religious instruction, by the maintenance of a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons, and of schoolmasters and ministers in all the principal factories. With regard to ministers, in particular, it was provided that they should be obliged to learn the Portuguese, and "apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."

Impolitic arrangements.

The arrangements for the establishment of a new East India Company display little wisdom and foresight. The loan to government constituted the only capital; but this was already absorbed, and the only fund on which the Company could rely for carrying on their trade, was the annual sum of £160,000, payable

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A.D. 1700.

to them as interest. This was wholly inadequate; and hence, at the very outset, their pecuniary resources began to fail. Their subscription list had been rapidly filled up, but as the instalments fell due, the defaulters became numerous, and the stock, which had at first brought a premium, with difficulty found purchasers at a considerable discount. While the new Company was thus hampered, the old Company still kept the field with its resources unimpaired, and all the advantages arising from pre-occupation. The result of a competition carried on under such circumstances could scarcely be doubtful; and it is therefore easy to understand how the old Company, in addressing their agents abroad on the recent changes, instead of using desponding terms, speak almost with exultation of the approaching contest, expressing themselves as follows:—

Old Company still confident.

"Two East India Companies in England could no more subsist, without destroying one ye other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom. Now, a civil battle was to be fought between the old and new company; two or three years must end this war, as the old or the new must give way. Being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory; if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter."

Grounds of confidence.

The confidence thus expressed was founded, not merely on the superior advantages which they possessed in a trade which had long been established, and for the protection of which various fortified stations had been provided, but on the important interest which they had secured in the stock of the General Society. The act of parliament left it open for them, as for any other corporation, to become subscribers to the £2,000,000 loan, and no less than £315,000 stood in the subscription list, in the name of Mr. Dubois, for their behoof. The consequence was, that instead of being extinguished when the three years of grace allowed them should expire, they would still be entitled to trade annually to India to the amount of the above subscription. There was, however, one great difficulty. As the law stood, their existence as a corporation and joint-stock company would terminate in 1701, and they would thereafter be obliged to trade, not as an united body, but as individuals, each in proportion to the amount which he had subscribed to the loan. The first object, therefore, now, was to provide against this emergency by endeavouring to secure a prolongation of their corporate character. In this they were completely successful, for in the beginning of 1700 a private act of parliament was passed, "for continuing the governor and Company of the merchants of London trading into the East Indies a corporation." This act, after referring to the privileges conferred on the subscribers to the £2,000,000 loan, and stating that "John Dubois, of London, merchant, hath, by the direction, and in trust for the governor and Company of merchants trading into the East Indies, subscribed and paid the sum of £315,000, as part of the said sum of £2,000,000, in order to entitle the said governor and Company

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to the several benefits of the said act," proceeds to declare that they shall "continue and be one body, corporate and politick, by the name aforesaid, subject, nevertheless, to be determined upon redemption of the fund." The reasons given for the enactment are, that the London Company, though entitled to the benefits conferred on the subscribers to the loan, would, notwithstanding, be deprived of them "should they cease to be a corporation;" and "for that several hundred persons are interested in the said subscription of £315,000, they cannot manage the same, and the benefit of trade accruing thereby, but in a corporation." A.D. 1700.

Two independent East India Companies.

Thus, by solemn acts of the legislature, two independent East India Companies were established, without any provision whatever to prevent the evils which would necessarily arise from their rivalship and collision. The geographical limits of the trade were sufficiently ample for both, and each might have been assigned a distinct field, within which it would have found ample scope for all its capital and enterprise. Instead of this they were placed at once in hostile array, and commenced a system of warfare which, while it exposed them to the derision and extortion of the native rulers, could only terminate in their common ruin. So early was this perceived, that the new or English Company, afraid to face the difficulties which, from the very first, began to gather around them, made overtures for a union. The London Company were not disposed to listen. They had been forced into a struggle which they were most anxious to prevent; but, now that it had commenced, felt so confident of victory, that when their agents abroad expressed their alarm, they spoke slightingly of the danger, and described it "as a blustering storm, which was so far from tearing them up, that it only a little shook the roots, and made them thereby take the better hold, and grow the firmer, and flourish the faster." The language thus employed was more vainglorious than sincere; and when the violent feelings which at the commencement of the struggle kept the companies aloof had been gradually moderated, a general desire for union began to be entertained. The king himself, probably convinced that the legislature itself was to blame for much of the confusion which had arisen, openly declared in favour of a union, and in particular when, agreeably to a practice then usual in passing a private act, a deputation of the London Company, consisting of the governor and committees, and about 100 proprietors, accompanied by the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and ten of the aldermen of London, obtained an audience of his majesty at Kensington on the 8th of March, 1700, to request that he would give the royal assent to the bill for continuing them a corporation, he took the opportunity, while assuring them of his favour and protection, to recommend the union of the two companies to their serious consideration, on the ground "that it would be most for the interest of the India trade."

Terms on which the companies were established.

Though the union of the companies was not effected during the reign of King William, his recommendation had a powerful influence in paving the way for it. At first, indeed, the London Company, instead of meeting its rival on

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A.D. 1700.

a footing of equality, endeavoured to get rid of it altogether by making an offer to parliament to advance, at a reduced interest, as much money as would suffice to pay the whole of the £2,000,000 loan. This offer could not have been accepted without a gross breach of faith with the subscribers to that loan, and was therefore justly rejected. It was now felt that the union could only be effected on equitable terms; and as the necessity for it became daily more and more apparent, the deputies of the two companies, abandoning all attempts to overreach each other, began in good earnest to arrange an amalgamation. The result was embodied in a deed dated the 2d of July, 1702, and entitled "Indenture Tripartite between her majesty Queen Anne and the two East India Companies, for uniting the said Companies." The leading object of this deed was to place the companies in the very same position, by dividing the whole sum advanced to government into two equal portions, and assigning one portion to each. At the time of its execution, the subscription to the £2,000,000 loan stood as follows:—

English Company's subscription, ...	£1,662,000
London Company's subscription, ...	315,000
Separate traders' subscription, ...	23,000
	£2,000,000

Terms on which the companies were amalgamated.

Leaving out of view the separate traders, who were so called because they preferred to trade, to the amount of their subscription, on their own individual responsibility, and not on a joint stock, the whole sum subscribed by the two companies was £1,977,000. The share allotted to each company, under the new arrangement, was the half of this sum, or £988,500; but as the London Company had subscribed only £315,000, it was necessary for them to make up the difference by purchasing stock at par from the English Company, to the amount of £673,500. This arranged, the next object was to fix the value of what was called the *dead stock* of the companies, or that portion of stock which, consisting of forts, factories, buildings, &c., could not be turned into money, but behoved to be reserved in common for the purpose of carrying on the trade. The whole of this dead stock was valued at £400,000, of which £330,000 belonged to the London, and only £70,000 to the English Company. It was therefore necessary, in order to maintain equality, that the latter Company should make up the difference by paying to the former £130,000. During seven years, the companies were to maintain their separate existence, but the trade was to be carried on as an united trade, for the common benefit of both, and under the direction of twenty-four managers, twelve of them chosen by each company. At the end of the seven years the London was to be entirely merged in the English Company, which should, "from thenceforth, for ever, continue the same corporation and body politick, with change of its name, and be from thenceforth called by the name of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.'"

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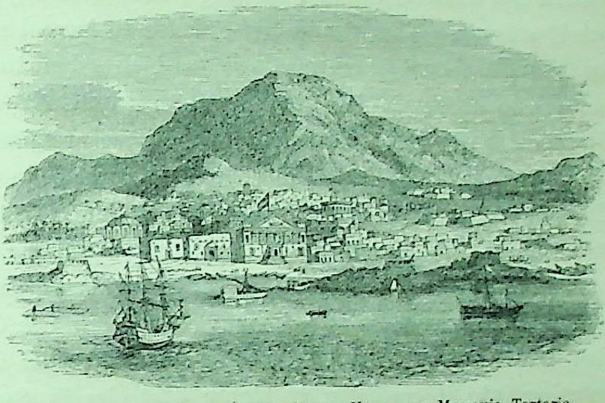
A.D. 1760.

Of the same date as the indenture tripartite, another was executed under the name of "Quinque-partite Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the two East India Companies." The inventory which it gives of this stock is of some interest, in so far at least as relates to the original Company, as it not only furnishes the names, but also indicates the extent of the acquisitions which it had made in the East during the 100 years of its existence. The various places and subjects conveyed, in terms of the above agreement, at the valuation of £330,000, are enumerated as follows:—"The ports and islands of Bombay and St. Helena, with all their rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever. Under the presidency of the aforesaid island Bombay, the factories of Surat, Swally, and Broach, and the factories of Amadavad, Agra, and Lucknow (in which three last places the Company have only houses and buildings and some other conveniences remaining, but they have at present no factors that reside there). On the coast of Malabar, the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, and Anjengo, and the factory of Calicut. In Persia, the factories of Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan, and the yearly rent, pension, or sum of 1000 tomands, amounting to the yearly sum of £3333, 6*s.* 8*d.* English money, granted by the Sophy of Persia to the said governor and Company. On the coast of Choromandel, Chinghee and Orixa, Fort St. George, with the castle and fortifications, and territory thereto belonging, upon which a large city is built, consisting of —— houses, which are held of and pay rent to the said governor and Company, together with the said city and its dependencies; and also all that fort called Fort St. David (being a strong fort and factory), and about three miles compass of the circumjacent country, upon which several small towns or villages are erected; the factories of Cuddalore, Porto-Novo, Pettipolee, Melchlepatam (Masulipatam), and Madapollam, and the fort and factory of Vizagapatam. On the island of Sumatra, the settlement of York Fort at Bencoolen, and the factory there, with a territory of about five miles thereto belonging, and the factory at Indrapore; also the factories of Tryaming and Sillebar, and some other *out-pagars* or factories depending on the factory of Bencoolen. In Cochin-China, the factory of Tonquin, in the kingdom of Bengal; the Fort William and the factory of Chuttanuttee, with a large territory thereto belonging; the factories of Balasore, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Hooghly, Moulda, Rajahmaul, and

Position of the old Company at the time of the amalgamation.



GOMBROON, OR BENDER-ABBAZ.—Struys, Voyages en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse, &c., 1681.

Enumeration of factories.

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A.D. 1700. Patna. Also the right and title of the said governor and Company to Bantam, or any other settlements in the South Seas; and all rents, customs, and other profits, and all privileges, graunts, and phirmaunds in India."

Obstacles to cordial union.

It must be admitted that the subjects above enumerated were very moderately valued, and had not only cost more, but would have been rated far higher for an absolute sale. The object, however, being to effect an amicable amalgamation, the London Company lost little by consenting to liberal terms, though the effect certainly was to give an unfavourable view of the state of their affairs, and countenance the allegation that at the period when the arrangement was made, notwithstanding the large dividends regularly declared, they were barely solvent. This would almost seem to have been their own impression, for though they had at first professed aversion to the union, they at last became so urgent for it as once more to ask in the aid of the now notorious Sir Basil Firebrace, and purchase it by the promise of an enormous reward. As a compensation for his services, if they proved successful, £150,000 of the Company stock was to be transferred to him at £80. Assuming the stock to be at par, he was to make a gain of twenty per cent., or in other rewards receive a douceur of £30,000. The arrangement was not more extravagant than impolitic, because it led many of the English Company to imagine that they had been outwitted in the bargain, and thus disposed them instead of entering into it cordially, to throw obstacles in the way of its completion. This want of cordiality was especially manifested abroad, where the servants of both companies, disregarding the instructions which they received from home, seemed determined to carry on a kind of internecine warfare. Year after year thus passed away, and the process of winding up the separate concerns of the companies, preparatory to the final amalgamation, made little progress. The necessity of taking some more decisive step for this purpose having become apparent, it was at last resolved to have recourse to a referee. This important office was undertaken by no less a personage than Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, the lord high-treasurer of Great Britain; and in order that full effect might be given to his award, it was previously made binding on both companies by a special clause in an act of parliament.

SIDNEY, Earl of Godolphin.—After Sir G. Kneller.

This act of parliament (6th Anne, chap. 17), exacted a new loan of £1,200,000

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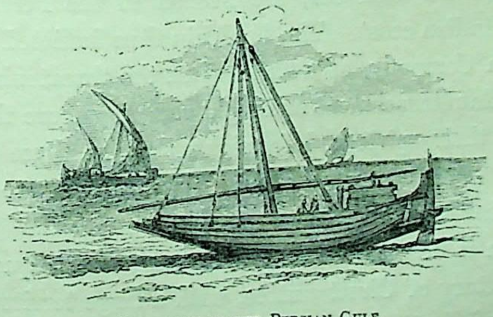
from the United Company, thus making the whole amount of the advance to government £3,200,000. No interest was allowed on the latter loan; but as the former had borne interest at eight per cent., the effect was to accumulate both loans into one, bearing a common interest of five per cent. In return for the loan thus exacted, certain new advantages were conferred. The portion of the original loan, which still belonged to the separate traders of the General Society, had been reduced to £7200, and it was now made optional to the United Company, on giving three years' notice of their intention after 29th September, 1711, to pay off this sum and incorporate it with their own stock, so as to put them in exclusive possession of the whole East India trade, and leave them without even the shadow of a competitor. It was also enacted that the existence of the Company, instead of being terminable by three years' notice after 1711, on repayment of the loan, should be prolonged under the same conditions till 1726; and power was given them to borrow £1,500,000, which they might either allow to remain as a bonded debt, or repay by means of calls on their shareholders. In this way the amount of capital, which would otherwise have been absorbed by the additional loan, was more than replaced. Lord Godolphin's award was pronounced on the 29th September, 1708; and the arrangements consequent upon it being immediately completed, the amalgamation was finally effected. One Company only, bearing the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," now existed; and preparations were forthwith made for carrying on the East India trade on a larger scale than it had previously attained. The circumstances were propitious: the charter of the English Company on which the trade was in future to be conducted could no longer be called in question, as it had obtained the direct sanction of the legislature—the internal dissensions and animosities which at one time threatened to bring ruin on both companies had been suppressed—and the native governments, in consequence of the political changes which followed the death of Aurungzebe, had become less able to practise extortion and oppression.

A.D. 1708.

Capital of the United Company.

Name of the United Company.



GAROOKUH OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

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BOOK III.

FROM THE UNION OF THE COMPANIES TO THE ACQUISITION OF BENGAL, BEHAR, AND ORISSA.

CHAPTER I.

Actual position of the United Company—Political state of India—The immediate successors of Aurungzebe—The Mahrattas and other native states—The invasion of Nadir Shah.

WHILE parliament was discussing the best mode of establishing the trade to the East, the trade itself had been almost suspended, particularly on the west coast of India, by an embargo which Aurungzebe had laid on all European ships in the harbour of Surat. Various acts of piracy had been committed, and the Mogul, instead of endeavouring to discover the guilty parties, took the more compendious method of throwing the responsibility on the different European nations on whom he had conferred privileges of trade. An imperial mandate accordingly was issued, obliging the English, Dutch, and French not only to pay the damage which had been sustained, but to give security for the payment of any similar damage which might

A. D. 1708. be sustained in future. Remonstrances against this despotic proceeding proved unavailing; and the different companies saw themselves reduced to the necessity of saving their trade by submitting to injustice. Under an arrangement which bound them to clear the seas of pirates, the Dutch engaged for that purpose to cruise in the Red Sea, the French in the Persian Gulf, and the English along the Indian coast. The hardship thus inflicted entailed a serious loss on the London Company, at a time when the threatening aspect of their affairs at home made retrenchment and rigid economy more than ever desirable. It says much for their spirit and foresight, that in these untoward circumstances they even ventured on a heavy outlay, in order to make a valuable acquisition in another part of India.

Difficulties with the Mogul.

Acquisitions of the Company in Bengal.

This acquisition is described in the inventory above quoted as "the Fort William and the factory of Chuttanuttee, with a large territory thereto belonging." The factory of Chuttanuttee had, it will be remembered, been established some years before, when, after the humiliating result of the war rashly entered into with the Mogul, an insulting permission was given to resume the trade;

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but the territory now acquired included the three entire towns, or rather villages of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta—thus giving the Company a territorial footing in Bengal similar to that previously possessed at Madras and Bombay. Bengal was in consequence again raised to the rank of an independent presidency, and Fort William, newly erected, and so called in honour of the reigning English monarch, became its capital. A.D. 1708.

Constitution of the United Company.

The United Company had thus at the very outset three distinct presidencies, each governed by its own president and council, and entitled to act independently of the others. Madras was the oldest, Bombay the strongest, and Bengal commercially the most important, but no one possessed any recognized superiority; and the only controlling power which could give them unity of purpose and action centred in the court of directors, who met in Leadenhall Street. This court, as constituted by the new charter, laboured under several very obvious defects. Its members, twenty-four in number, were elected by the general court of proprietors, composed of all who possessed at least £500 of stock. This amount gave one vote; but, contrary to the provisions of earlier charters, no additional amount of stock, however large, gave more votes than one. The proprietor of £500 and of £50,000 were placed on the very same footing, and, constitutionally at least, exercised the same degree of influence in the general management. The object of this provision apparently was to counteract the tendency to monopoly, and prevent the recurrence of the abuse which had taken place at an earlier period, when a few overgrown proprietors, with Sir Josiah Child at their head, usurped a selfish and injurious ascendency. If this was the object, the means employed were not well calculated to accomplish it. Common fairness required that some proportion should have been established between the power of voting and the interest at stake; and it is therefore not surprising that the larger proprietors took the remedy into their own hands, and had recourse to the obvious but not very creditable expedient of manufacturing votes by splitting up their stock into £500 shares, and conveying them to confidential parties, who were bound to vote at their dictation. While no precaution was taken against this practice, the evils produced by it were permitted to assume their most aggravated form. The directors held office only for a single year; and hence, as each annual election came round, it was not impossible that the whole body of managers, and consequently the whole system of management, would be changed. The electioneering carried on under such circumstances was not only unseemly but corrupt, and the directors often owed their seats far less to their qualifications than to the superabundance of their promises. In proportion as the Company extended their operations, extensive and valuable rights of patronage were acquired; and the appointments which might be obtained in return for votes, induced many to purchase stock who cared little for the dividends which might be realized from it. The true interest of the Company was to such voters a matter of secondary moment;

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and their influence was accordingly often employed not in promoting but in thwarting it. A court of directors elected on erroneous principles, and consisting of members who had no certainty of retaining office beyond a single year, could scarcely be expected to conduct the affairs of the Company on any regular and permanent system. This serious defect was aggravated by the constitution of the court itself. Under the old charters provision was made for the appointment of a governor and deputy-governor, who, by occupying the chair for a definite period, were able to arrange the business and give some degree of uniformity to the proceedings; but in the new charter this provision had been lost sight of, and for several years, whenever the directors met, the occupation of the chair was determined by a new election made on the spur of the moment. The obvious inconveniences of this arrangement were ultimately obviated by a by-law, which re-established the original practice. The other defects, however, remained; and more than half a century elapsed before any serious attempt was made to remedy them.

Early history of the United Company.

The history of the United Company during the first years of its existence furnishes few incidents deserving of special notice. The rivals who had questioned the legality of former charters with the view of securing a share in the East India trade, seeing themselves excluded by express acts of the legislature, had been obliged to quit the field; and encroachments on the exclusive monopoly which had been secured, being now deemed hopeless, were no longer attempted. All the commercial transactions of the Company were henceforth carried on according to a regular routine; and the record of them would only present a dry detail of exports and imports, varying in amount from year to year, yet exhibiting on the whole a permanent and important increase. The profit also increased, though not always in the same proportion, the amount of dividend often fluctuating with the state of affairs at home and abroad. In 1708, when the complete union of the companies was effected, the dividend was at the rate of only five per cent., in 1709 it was eight per cent., in 1710 and 1711 nine per cent., and thereafter annually till 1723 ten per cent. A decline then took place, and the rate settled down at eight per cent. In 1712 the exclusive privileges of the Company, previously terminable in 1726, were prolonged by 10 Anne, c. 28, to 1733. By a subsequent prolongation, three years were added to this period; and finally, by 17 Geo. II. c. 17, the exclusive trade was secured till the expiration of three years' notice after 1780.

Unsettled state of the Mogul empire.

While the Company were thus secured at home against any attempts which might have been made to deprive them of their privileges, dangers threatened them from various other quarters. Of these, the first in order, if not the most alarming, was the state of anarchy with which the whole country seemed about to be overwhelmed, in consequence of the dismemberment of the Mogul empire. After Aurungzebe's death in 1707, a kind of will was found under his pillow. He had foreseen the contest which would be waged for his succession, and endea-

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voured to prevent it by apportioning his dominions among his three sons. To Moazzim, the eldest, he destined the northern and eastern provinces, with the title of emperor; and to Azim, the second son, all the provinces to the south and south-west, including the Deccan, with the exception of the conquered kingdoms of Bejapoor and Golconda. These he left to his third son, Cambaksh. This proposed partition, which would have been injudicious under any circumstances, threw away the only chance which remained of once more consolidating the Mogul power. The Mahrattas had shaken it to its very centre—the leading Rajpoots had made themselves almost independent—and many other tributaries were watching the opportunity to imitate their example. The confusion was, however, destined to be even worse than Aurungzebe's will would have made it. The brothers, without paying any regard to that document, no sooner heard of his death than they flew to arms. Azim, who was nearest to the capital, took advantage of his position, and was immediately proclaimed sovereign of all India. Cambaksh, instead of questioning his title, formally acknowledged it, and was confirmed in possession of the kingdoms which his father had allotted him. Moazzim, though the true heir, was not indisposed to a compromise, and offered it on favourable terms; but Azim, strong in actual possession, refused to listen to any decision but that of the sword. Moazzim accordingly advanced from Cabool, where he had been residing as governor, while two of his sons—the eldest from Moultan, and the second from Bengal—hastened to join him. In the battle which ensued, Moazzim gained a complete victory. Azim, with his two grown-up sons, were slain in the field, and his only other son, an infant, was taken prisoner. It might have been supposed that the struggle for the succession was now at an end; but Cambaksh, who had submitted so readily to his second, rose in rebellion against his eldest brother. Moazzim, therefore, had no sooner mounted the throne in June, 1707, under the title of Bahadur Shah, than he found it necessary to march into the Deccan at the head of an army. His good fortune again attended him, and in a battle fought near Hyderabad, in February, 1708, Cambaksh was not only defeated, but fell mortally wounded.

A.D. 1708.

Succession of Bahadur Shah.

Disunion among the Mahrattas.

On quitting the Deccan, Bahadur Shah conferred the viceroyalty on Zulfikar Khan, who had earned it by an opportune desertion of Azim, previous to the battle which decided his fate. Zulfikar immediately endeavoured to effect an accommodation with the Mahrattas. The circumstances were favourable. Saho, the legitimate rajah, after a long captivity, had been set at liberty by Azim, and had immediately laid claim to the Mahratta sovereignty. He was resisted by Tara Bai, the widow of his uncle, Rajah Ram, who claimed it for her infant son. Both claimants were strongly supported; and Zulfikar, taking advantage of the disunion thus produced, had made considerable progress in a negotiation with Saho. He was obliged, however, before concluding it, to repair to Delhi; but his deputy, Daoud Khan Panni, following out his views, procured exemption from Mahratta forays, by agreeing to levy the chout by

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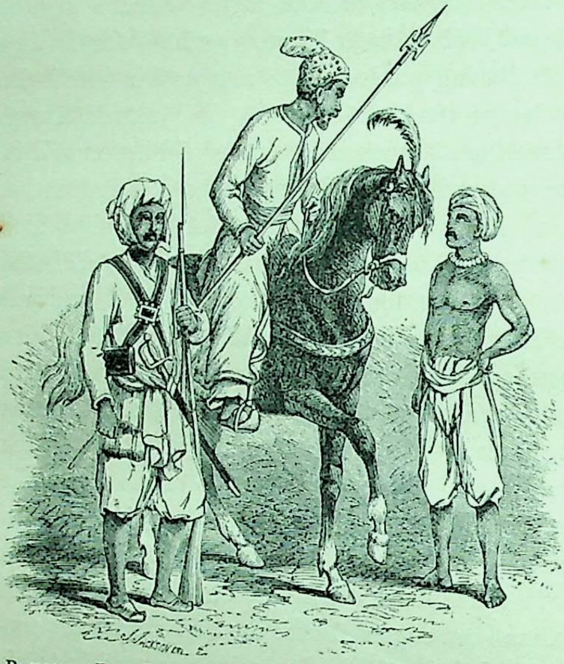
A.D. 1712. his own officials, and pay Saho the proceeds. This was at the best a very humiliating arrangement, but the fortunes of the Mogul had already so far declined that any terms were deemed preferable to the hazard of a new struggle.

Rajpoot confederacy. In returning from the Deccan, Bahadur Shah was encountered by a new confederacy of Rajpoots, headed by the Rana of Odeypoor and the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Marwar. Before he could crush it, a new alarm broke out which obliged him to comply with their demands, and in fact make them independent in everything but the name. The alarm proceeded from the Punjab, where the Sikhs, originally an insignificant religious sect, had risen rapidly into importance, and were now avenging themselves on their Mussulman persecutors by fearful devastations and wholesale massacres. The insurrection was deemed formidable enough to demand the emperor's personal presence, and was only partially suppressed when he died suddenly at Lahore, in February, 1712.



RAJPOOTS.—From Burnouf, L'Inde Française; Solvyn, Les Hindous; and Todd's Annals of Rajasthan.

Disputed succession to the Mogul throne. As usual, the succession was disputed by his four sons. Azim-u-Shan, the second son, was the favourite both with the nobility and the army; and, by a rapid march from his government of Bengal, where he had for several years been providing himself with the sinews of war, gained so much upon his competitors that resistance seemed all but hopeless. The other three brothers, seeing that their only chance of success was to unite against him as a common enemy, joined their forces, and, under the able guidance of Zulfikar Khan, forced him to action under circumstances so disadvantageous, that after a short struggle he lost both the battle and his life. The question of precedence among the remaining brothers still remained to be determined; but Zulfikar Khan settled it by a very summary process. Moiz-u-din, who, as the eldest, had the best legal title, seemed excluded by incapacity; but to Zulfikar this was his strongest recommendation. He had determined to use him as a tool, and therefore, espousing his cause, found little difficulty in seating him on the throne, under the title of Jehandar Shah. Zulfikar, almost as a matter of course, became

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vizier, and wielded all the power of the state, while the pageant emperor gave himself up to folly and licentiousness. A.D. 1713.

Reign of Jehandar Shah.

One of the first acts of the new reign had been to seize and murder all who might have become rival claimants to the throne. Some of them, however, notwithstanding the remorselessness with which this barbarous policy was carried out, had escaped. Among them was Farokshir, son of the second brother, Azim-u-Shan, who, when he set out to contend for the succession, had left him to govern Bengal as his deputy. The incapacity of Jehandar Shah, and the arrogance and tyranny of Zulfikar Khan, having produced general discontent, Farokshir saw his opportunity, and resolved to improve it. Supported by two brothers, Abdallah Khan and Hosen Ali, who, as Seyeds, or descendants of the Prophet, were held in reverence by the Mahometans, while their possession of the respective governments of Allahabad and Behar placed a powerful force at their command, he raised the standard of revolt and advanced to the vicinity of Agra. There Jehandar and Zulfikar encountered him at the head of 70,000 men. The battle was so fiercely contested that the issue was long doubtful. Ultimately the imperial troops, who had little good-will to the cause for which they were fighting, gave way, and Jehandar, fleeing in disguise to Delhi, left Zulfikar to follow with the remaining troops as he best could. Farokshir was close upon his heels, and learned with delight, that instead of being obliged to wait the tedious process of a siege, the capital was already in his power. Zulfikar met him as he approached, and delivered Jehandar a prisoner into his hands. This new act of perfidy did not save him, and both he and his master were immediately put to death.

Reign of Farokshir.

Farokshir having thus mounted the Mogul throne on 4th February, 1713, naturally conferred the highest offices of the state on the two Seyeds. Abdallah, the elder, was made vizier; and Hosen Ali, who had almost miraculously recovered after being left for dead on the field, became Ameer-ut-Omrah, or commander-in-chief. Pluming themselves on the important services which they had rendered, the brothers were disposed to repeat the game which had been played by Zulfikar Khan, by leaving Farokshir only the name of emperor, while they really governed. The task proved more difficult than they had anticipated. Farokshir, though of a feeble and irresolute character, had a high idea of his own qualifications for reigning, and was surrounded by worthless favourites, whose rapacity and ambition could not be satisfied while nothing but the shadow of power was left him. The Seyeds, accordingly, soon found themselves thwarted in their arbitrary proceedings by a strong court party, who, without venturing to provoke an open rupture, were unwearied in intrigue. The first scheme was to get rid of the presence of Hosen Ali by exciting a war which required his presence. In this there was no difficulty, as Ajit Sing, the powerful Rajah of Marwar, was again in rebellion, and was, moreover, actually encouraged in it by the court faction, who gave him to understand that obstinate

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A.D. 1713.

resistance would please the emperor more than ready submission. The rajah, however, was too acute to play the game of Farokshir's favourites; and, finding Hosen willing to grant him terms by which his own interests were secured, hastened to conclude a peace.

Important grants by Farokshir to the Company.

One of the stipulations of this peace was that the rajah should give his daughter in marriage to the emperor. What the attractions of the lady were is not mentioned, but Farokshir seems to have felt all the ardour and impatience of a lover. There was, however, a serious obstacle in the way. The dissipated course of life which he led had undermined his health, and he was labouring under a disease which did not permit him to marry. Fortunately, at this very period the Company had sent a formal embassy to Delhi to complain of the extortion and oppression practised upon them at their different factories, and more especially in Bengal. They had been induced to take this step in consequence of the favour which Farokshir had shown them while holding the government of this province, and their consequent hope that he would protect them against the harsh treatment which they were receiving from Jaffier Khan, his successor. The embassy carried with them presents to the value of about £30,000, intended partly for the emperor himself, and partly for the favourites by whom he was surrounded. It is not to be doubted that at a court where intrigue prevailed and all things had become venal, these presents must have smoothed down many difficulties; but the ultimate success of the embassy was owing not to them but to a cause on which they had not calculated. Mr. Hamilton, the physician to the embassy, had been called to court to give his professional aid, and succeeded so well, that the disease of the emperor, which had refused to yield to native treatment, was removed, and his marriage, which had been vexatiously delayed, was celebrated with unprecedented splendour. There was in consequence no limit to the favour which Mr. Hamilton enjoyed. The emperor publicly attested his gratitude by bestowing rich presents upon him in the presence of all his courtiers, and was afterwards easily induced to comply with the petition which the embassy had presented, by issuing a firman which invested the Company with new and extensive privileges. Besides the three villages which they already possessed in the vicinity of Fort William, authority was given them to acquire other thirty-seven on the same terms and in the same locality. For a time, in consequence of the hostility of Jaffier Khan, this grant was rendered inoperative; but at last full effect was given to it, and the Company, though not without serious misgivings of allowing themselves to be "encumbered with much territory," acquired right to a tract extending nearly ten miles along both sides of the Hooghly, and completely commanding its navigation. Among the other more important privileges conferred by the firman were the conversion of the duties previously payable at Surat into a fixed annual sum, beyond which no charge of any kind was to be made; and above all, the removal of one of the greatest impediments which trade had experienced,

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A.D. 1715.

by exempting all goods protected by the Company's *dustuk*, or passport, from stoppage or examination by the officials of the Bengal government.

Virtual rule of the Seyeds.

At the very time when Farokshir was making these concessions to the Company his own affairs were hastening to a crisis. While Hosen Ali was absent with the army, the courtiers had thrown off part of their former caution, and by evincing a more undisguised hostility, furnished him with a pretext for providing additional securities for his personal safety. Pretending an alarm which it is probable they did not feel, the two brothers at first refused to appear at court, and then began to prepare for open hostilities. After a period of general consternation, during which the capital was threatened with anarchy, Farokshir found it necessary to submit, and consented to become virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Seyeds, by allowing the gates of the citadel, within which his palace stood, to be occupied by their guards, while an attempt was made to effect a reconciliation. After various abortive proposals it was at last arranged that Mir Jumla, the emperor's favourite and head of the court faction, and Hosen Ali, should both quit Delhi, the former proceeding to his government of Behar and the latter to his government of the Deccan, while Abdallah Khan should still retain his office of vizier. There was no sincerity on either side, and though the actual crisis was prevented, the course of intrigue continued as before.

The Sikhs under Bandu

During the confusion caused by the dissensions at Delhi, the Sikhs, after sustaining a series of disasters, had again become formidable. Their chief, Bandu, who had been made captive, had escaped, and suddenly issuing from his mountain retreat renewed his ravages in the level country. Feeble as the central government now was, the necessity of vigorous measures was so strongly felt, that a powerful force was despatched into the Punjab under the command of a chief called Abdusemed Khan, who conducted the campaign with consummate ability. After gaining repeated successes in the open field, he hunted the Sikhs out of their fastnesses, and made many of their leaders prisoners. Bandu himself was again among the number, and expiated his crimes on the scaffold at Delhi by a death in which all kinds of horrific tortures were accumulated. Numerous other executions followed, and the Sikhs, though still destined to play an important part in the history of India, were so completely subdued, that many years elapsed before their existence as a nation again became discernible.

Proceedings in the Deccan.

In the Deccan the Mogul arms were less successful. At first, on Hosen Ali's arrival in 1715, their employment was in civil warfare, said to have been instigated by the emperor himself. Daoud Khan Panni, who, as has been mentioned, was appointed by Zulfikar Khan to hold the government of the Deccan as his deputy, and negotiated a peace with the Mahrattas, was removed in 1713 on the accession of Farokshir, and was now governing the united provinces of Gujerat and Candeish. His immediate successor in the Deccan was Chin Kilich

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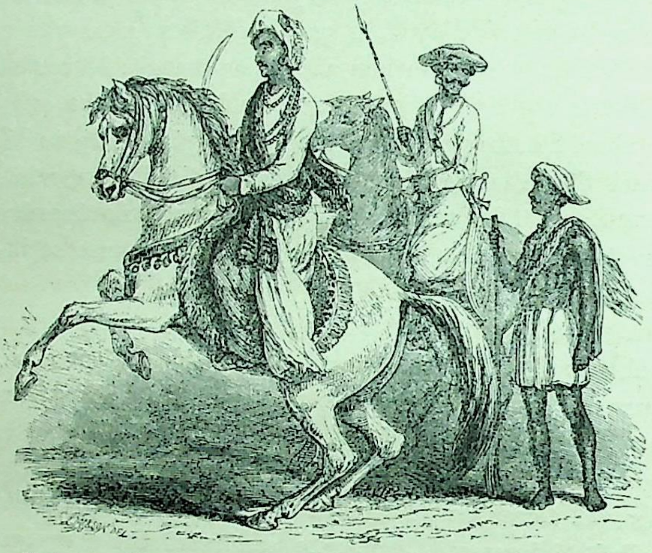
A.D. 1715.

Khan, afterwards well known as the founder of the Nizam dynasty, under his title of Nizam-ul-Moolk, meaning "Regulator or Governor of the State." To make way for Hosen Ali, he was removed to the comparatively insignificant government of Moradabad. Both of these chiefs considering themselves aggrieved by the loss of their more important appointments, hated Hosen, and were disposed to throw their weight into any confederacy that might be formed against him. Daoud, naturally the more headstrong and impetuous of the two, was first worked upon; and no sooner learned that Hosen's destruction would be hailed at Delhi as a deliverance, than he resolved to attempt it, not covertly, but by open hostility. With this view, having mustered the forces of his own governments, and increased them by levies from the Mahrattas and other Deccan chiefs among whom he had any influence, he at once made his appearance in the field, and that there might be no doubt as to his intentions, sent Hosen his defiance. The trial of strength thus provoked was speedily decided. Daoud, acting with his usual impetuosity, commenced the battle with a charge, before which those opposed to him were fleeing panic-struck, when he fell, pierced through the brain with a bullet. The fortune of the day was immediately reversed, and Hosen saw his threatened defeat converted into a complete victory.

Proceedings in the Deccan.



MAHRATTAS.—From Forbes, Oriental Memoirs; and Burnouf, L'Inde Française.

Progress of the Mahrattas.

While Daoud Khan Panni and Nizam-ul-Moolk governed in the Deccan, the Mahrattas, either distracted by internal dissensions, or satisfied with the advantageous peace which they had extorted, gave little trouble. The aspect of affairs was now changed. Hosen, offended at the assistance which they had given to his enemies, and deeming himself strong enough to put them down by main force, was not at all dissatisfied when the proceedings of one of their leading chiefs gave him good ground for interfering. This chief, whose family name was Dabari, by establishing a line of fortified villages in Candeish, had become the terror of caravans and travellers along the highroad leading from the Deccan to Surat. A strong detachment which Hosen sent against him met with little obstruction, and marched on unconscious of danger till it became entangled

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in ravines. The Mahrattas, true to their mode of warfare, had possessed themselves of every possible outlet, and almost every man of the detachment perished by the sword or was made prisoner. The whole of the Mahratta confederacy was now in motion, and Hosen, fearing that he might be involved in an interminable and inglorious warfare, at the very time when his presence was imperatively required at Delhi, hastily concluded a peace with Saho, which confirmed him in the possession of a larger extent of territory than the Mahrattas had ever possessed before, and sanctioned the levying not only of the chout, but of the *sirdesmuki*, or an additional tenth of the whole remaining revenue throughout the Deccan. The only return which Saho made for these concessions was an agreement to guarantee the country from future depredations, to furnish a contingent of 15,000 for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and to pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000). A.D. 1719.

Defeat and murder of Farokshir by the Seyeds.

Farokshir, while aware that his own intrigues had in a manner compelled Hosen to conclude this disgraceful treaty, refused to ratify it. The quarrels which ensued hastened the crisis. Farokshir, had he possessed any degree of steadiness and energy, might easily have found in the chiefs who envied or hated the Seyeds, a combination powerful enough to free him from their galling yoke. His father-in-law, Ajit Sing, Rajah of Marwar, Jei Sing, Rajah of Amber, Sirbuland Khan, governor of Behar, and Nizam-ul-Moolk, who, considering himself exiled at Moradabad, was pining for higher employment, were all ready to have lent their aid. Instead of taking proper measures to court it, he only alienated them by the preference shown to unworthy favourites; and hence, when the period for a decisive trial arrived, found himself almost totally abandoned. Alarmed at the dangers by which he was beset, he now consulted only his fears, and endeavoured, by abject submission, to obtain at least a respite. Even this was denied; and after some attempts at a rescue, by a few partisans who still adhered to him in the capital, the Seyeds dragged him forth from his hiding-place in the seraglio, and caused him to be privately put to death in Feb. 1719.

Mahomed Shah placed on the throne.

The brothers, Hosen Ali and Abdallah Khan, were now absolute masters of the government, and might at once have put an end for ever to the Mogul dynasty. This was probably for themselves the safest course which they could have adopted; but its boldness deterred them, and they set up first one young prince of the blood and then another. By a singular fatality both died, it is said, not by violence, but naturally, within six months. A third was found of more robust constitution, and mounted the throne with the title of Mahomed Shah.

The Seyeds evidently contemplated a continuance of their arbitrary rule; but symptoms of opposition were soon manifested in various quarters, and were rather encouraged than repressed by a timid and vacillating policy on the part of the government. It would indeed seem from the timid measures of the brothers, that they were conscious of having fallen greatly in public opinion, and felt the ground slipping from beneath their feet. With some of the earlier

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A.D. 1719.

rebels against their authority, they found little difficulty in effecting a compromise. It was otherwise when Nizam-ul-Moolk began to bestir himself. He had been in communication with Farokshir's party; but, on seeing how little confidence could be placed in that fickle monarch, had given in his adhesion to the Seyeds. He expected that they would have rewarded him with the government of the Deccan, and was much dissatisfied on receiving only that of Malwah. Even here the Seyeds deemed him too formidable, and they endeavoured to remove him by pressing on his acceptance any one of the four governments of Allahabad, Agra, Candeish, and Moultan. He refused, and at the same time, considering it unnecessary any longer to dissemble, prepared to resist a threatened attempt to oust him by force. An open rupture ensued, and Nizam-ul-Moolk proceeded to execute a scheme which he had long been meditating. Instead of remaining in Malwah, he crossed the Nerbudda, gained possession by force or bribery of several important places, signally defeated two armies that were sent against him, obtained the adhesion of many chiefs, came to an understanding with the Mahrattas, and was soon virtually master of the whole Deccan.

Nizam-ul-Moolk in the Deccan.

His success had been greatly aided by a course of intrigue which had again commenced at the court of Delhi. Mahomed Shah, like his predecessor Farokshir, was bent on throwing off the yoke of the Seyeds. The revolt of Nizam-ul-Moolk seemed to promise the means, and that ambitious chief was accordingly made aware that he could not do the emperor a greater service than by persisting in the course which he had so successfully begun. The Seyeds, perfectly aware of the dangerous position in which they stood, were perplexed how to act, and lost much precious time before they were able to decide. The final resolution was, that Hosen, carrying the emperor and several of the suspected nobles along with him, should make the campaign of the Deccan against Nizam-ul-Moolk, while Abdallah should overawe the disaffected by residing and maintaining a strong force in the capital.

Downfall of the Seyeds.

Meantime a conspiracy, to which the emperor himself was privy, had been formed. Its object was to get rid of the Seyeds at all events, by any means however atrocious. At the head of this conspiracy were Mahomed Ameer Khan, a nobleman of Turki origin, who, while ostensibly opposed to the emperor's party, was deep in his confidence; and Saadut Khan, who, originally a merchant of Khorasan, rose to importance by his military talents, and ultimately became the progenitor of the Kings of Oude. The mode by which the conspirators proposed to effect their object was a barbarous assassination. It was not difficult to find both an agent and an opportunity. As Hosen was proceeding to the Deccan in his palanquin, a Calmuck, of the name of Meer Heider, approached with a petition, and while Hosen was reading it, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. The whole camp was immediately thrown into commotion, and ultimately divided into two hostile bodies—the one composed of the adherents of the Seyeds, and the other of the adherents of the conspirators

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The latter, now openly countenanced by the emperor, who placed himself at their head, proved victorious, and drove the former from the field. Abdallah, who was only on his way to Delhi when the intelligence reached him, endeavoured to maintain the struggle by setting up a new sovereign in the person of A.D. 1722.

JHALLEDAR.[1]—Adapted from Solvyn, Les Hindous.

one of the princes confined in the capital, and mustering a large army. It was, however, in a great measure undisciplined, and when the final encounter took place, offered little more than a show of resistance. Abdallah was taken prisoner; but, contrary to the usual practice on such occasions, was not put to death; Mahomed Shah returned to Delhi, and, not at all abashed at the atrocious means which he had employed, made a pompous celebration of his recovered authority.

Nizam-ul-Moolk, vizier.

The office of vizier, conferred at first on Mahomed Ameer Khan, as a reward for heading the conspiracy, was, on his sudden death, reserved for Nizam-ul-Moolk. He was still in the Deccan, and found so much employment in settling its affairs, that nearly two years elapsed before he reached Delhi. On his arrival in January, 1722, he found everything in disorder. Mahomed Shah, occupied only with his pleasures, acted at the dictation of a favourite mistress, who had acquired such an ascendency over him, that she was allowed to keep his private signet and use it for her own purposes. His principal counsellors were young men whose only qualification was companionship with their master in his revels. Nizam-ul-Moolk, who still retained the austere habits acquired in the court of Aurungzebe, soon became disgusted. Not only were all his reforms thwarted, but his personal appearance and manners, so different from those of the youthful courtiers, were held up to ridicule for their master's special amusement. He was not the man to tolerate these rude and insulting liberties, and it was not

[1] Jhalledar is a palanquin used by rajahs and wealthy persons. It is covered with silk embroidered with gold, &c.

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A.D. 1724. long before the emperor and his vizier were mutually desirous to part. It is needless to dwell on the plots and counterplots to which this feeling gave rise. Suffice it to say, that in October, 1723, the vizier sent in his resignation, and set out for the Deccan. Ostensibly there was no quarrel; for the emperor, in accepting the resignation, lavished on Nizam-ul-Moolk the highest honours which a subject could receive. It was not long, however, before the enmity rankling at his heart was fully manifested. Mobariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad, proceeding on instructions from Delhi, collected a powerful army for the avowed purpose of extending his own authority over the whole Deccan. Nizam-ul-Moolk, whose skill as a diplomatist was at least equal to his prowess as a soldier, had recourse to negotiation, and having protracted it till his preparations were complete, defeated Mobariz in battle, slew him, and affecting ignorance of the instigation which had been given from Delhi, sent his head to the emperor as a trophy.

Mahratta incursions connived at by Nizam-ul-Moolk.

When Nizam-ul-Moolk marched off to the Deccan, he was in possession of the governments of both Malwah and Gujerat. He was formally removed from them, and took his revenge by encouraging incursions of the Mahrattas, who, notwithstanding partial repulses, had, during the rajahship of Saho, continued to make rapid progress. The main instruments of this success were the rajah's two ministers—first, Balajee Wiswanat, who, originally the accountant of a district of the Concan, became the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of Peishwas; and next, his son Bajee Rao, who, after Sevajee, ranks as the ablest leader whom the Mahratta nation has produced. Balajee, before his death in 1720, had obtained from Mahomed Shah a ratification of the treaty made with Hosen Ali during the reign of Farokshir; and Bajee Rao, following in his father's steps, had not only consolidated the rights of chout and sirdesmuki previously acquired, but introduced them into provinces where they had never before been levied.

Progress of Mahratta power.

This extension of Mahratta power had, as already observed, been partly owing to Nizam-ul-Moolk, who, in revenge for his removal from Malwah and Gujerat, had encouraged the Mahrattas to invade them. His policy in the Deccan, which he now regarded as his own independent kingdom, was dictated by opposite motives, his great object here being to confine the Mahratta power and influence within as narrow limits as possible. With this view, shortly after his victory over Mobariz in 1724, he dexterously availed himself of the disputed succession by which the Mahratta counsels had long been distracted. Saho, under the able ministry of Bajee Rao, had established a complete ascendency over his rival Samba, and confined him to a comparatively insignificant district lying near the western coast to the south of Sattarah. Still, however, Samba was equally with Saho himself recognized as rajah; and there was at least plausibility in the answer of Nizam-ul-Moolk, when, without denying his obligation to pay chout and sirdesmuki for the Deccan, he asked which of the two rajahs

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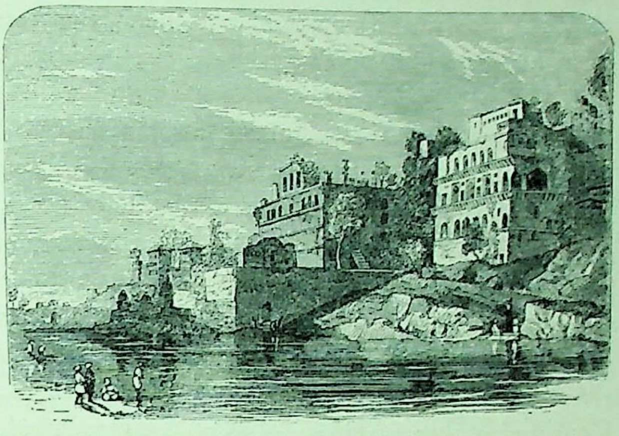
A.D. 1724.

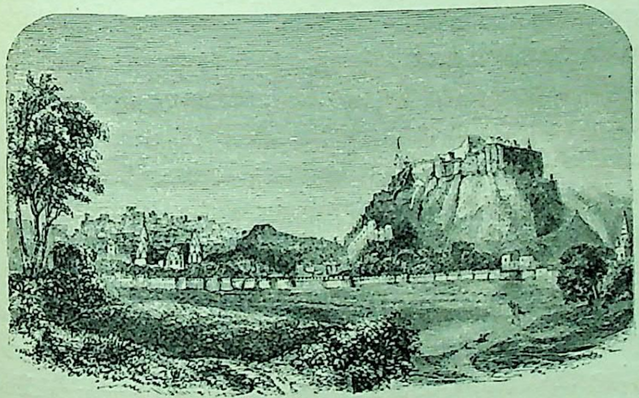
had the legal right to it, and called upon them to exhibit their respective claims. Saho, indignant at the very suggestion of a doubt on such a subject, disdained to give any explanation, and sent Bajee Rao at the head of a numerous army to compensate himself by plunder for the more regular revenue which was withheld. Nizam-ul-Moolk had prepared for this result, and along with Samba, who had now openly joined him, advanced to the relief of Boorhanpoor, which was threatened by Bajee. The first effect of this advance was to send the Mahrattas into Gujerat. After a short time spent in pillaging it, they again suddenly made their appearance in the Deccan, and ultimately reduced Nizam-ul-Moolk to such straits, that he was glad to buy them off by humiliating concessions. His experience of the kind of enemy he had to deal with, left him little inclination to provoke a renewal of the contest; and though he did, on more than one occasion, endeavour to weaken their power by sowing dissensions among them, he came at last to a thorough understanding with Bajee, and entered into a formal agreement, by which he undertook to protect Bajee's interests in the Deccan, while the latter was ravaging Malwah and extending his authority over other portions of the Mogul dominions.



BOORHANPOOR.—From Elliott's Views in the East.

Subjugation of Gujerat by Bajee Rao.

Bajee Rao easily found a pretext for this invasion. The grant of chout in Gujerat had been revoked, and Sir-buland Khan, who had consented to it, was recalled from the government to make way for a successor in Abhi Sing, Rajah of Joodpoor. The Mogul court, in making this appointment in favour of a rajah who, to other infamies, had recently added that of murdering his father Ajit Sing, was influenced chiefly by the expectation that his own



JOODPOOR.—From Todd's Annals of Rajasthan.

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A.D. 1734.

resources would enable him to make head against the Mahrattas. He was far from fulfilling this expectation. The Mahratta Pilajee Guicowar, ancestor of the Guicowar family still ruling in Gujerat, resisted all his efforts to expel him, but was at last, at Abhi Sing's instigation, basely assassinated. Nothing was gained by the atrocity; for it only exasperated the Mahrattas to such a pitch that, not satisfied with overrunning Gujerat, they carried their ravages to Joodpoor, and made the rajah glad to compound with the loss of Gujerat for the safety of his hereditary state.

Successes of Bajee Rao in Malwah.

In Malwah, where the Mahrattas were headed by Bajee Rao in person, their arms were equally triumphant; and the Mogul government, after several ineffectual expedients, tacitly concurred in the surrender of the province to the Peishwa in 1734. This important concession, so far from satisfying his ambition, only made it more grasping; and in proportion as the weakness of his adversaries was disclosed, he rose in his demands, and insisted not merely on levying the chout, but on holding, in full right, as a jaghire, the province of Malwah, and the whole country south of the Chumbul, together with the cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. Mahomed Shah, alarmed above measure by this new demand, evaded it for a time by temporizing, and endeavoured to induce the Mahratta to withdraw it by giving him a right to levy tribute on the Rajpoots, and to increase the amount of that already exigible from the Deccan. This last grant cost the emperor nothing, and was regarded as a stroke of good policy, because its natural tendency was to set the Mahrattas and Nizam-ul-Moolk at variance. In this respect it was not altogether a failure, as it drew Nizam-ul-Moolk's attention to his true position, and convinced him that he had much more to fear from the Mahrattas than from the Mogul. Under the influence of this conviction, he adopted a new system of policy, and resuming friendly communications with Mahomed Shah, undertook to employ all his power in protecting him against the encroachments of the Mahrattas.

He threatens Delhi.

This engagement was not allowed to remain long as a dead letter. In 1737, at the very time when it was entered into, Bajee Rao was advancing on the Mogul capital. The only check he sustained was in the defeat, by Saadut Khan, governor of Oude, of Malhur Rao Holkar, the founder of the Holkar family, who with a marauding party was ravaging the country beyond the Jumna. This defeat elated the Moguls, who magnified it into a discomfiture of the whole Mahratta army, which was represented as in full retreat to the Deccan. When Bajee Rao was informed of these vain boastings, he simply remarked that he would soon show the emperor he was still in Hindoostan. He was as good as his word. Suddenly quitting the Jumna, and leaving the Mogul army which had been sent to oppose him inactive before Muttra, he hastened on by forced marches, and never halted till he presented himself before the gates of Delhi. The expedition, however, appears to have been undertaken rather in a spirit of bravado than with any serious design of attempting the capture of the city,

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for after a few days he disappeared and encamped at a considerable distance. Meanwhile, the consternation produced by his presence caused hasty messages to be despatched to every quarter from which relief might be expected; and while the Vizier Kamr-u-din Khan, who had formed a junction with Saadut Khan, was advancing from his encampment at Muttra, Nizam-ul-Moolk also hastened from the Deccan. Bajee Rao, true to the Mahratta tactics, avoided an encounter, and by a precipitate retreat soon placed the Nerbudda between himself and his pursuers. A.D. 1738.

Nizam-ul-Moolk endeavours to arrest Bajee Rao's progress.

Nizam-ul-Moolk, notwithstanding Bajee's departure, continued his march to Delhi, where on his arrival he was invested with full powers to adopt whatever measures might be necessary for the safety of the empire; and his eldest son, Ghazi-u-din, was appointed governor both of Malwah and Gujerat. So low had the Mogul resources now fallen, that after his utmost efforts the army under his command did not exceed 34,000 men. With this army, and a reserve commanded by the nephew of Saadut Khan, he set out in search of the Mahrattas; and proceeding southward past Seronge, took up a position near the fort of Bhopaul, while Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda and advanced to meet him. As Nizam-ul-Moolk was outnumbered by the Mahrattas, but possessed a powerful artillery while they were almost entirely destitute of it, he deemed it advisable to retain his position and act on the defensive. With an ordinary enemy this might have been expedient, but with the enemy with whom he had now to deal it was a decided blunder. The Mahrattas, keeping carefully beyond the reach of his artillery, commenced their usual system by laying waste the surrounding country, and cutting off his supplies. This they did so effectually that no alternative was left him but to commence a retreat. As may be supposed, it was only a series of disasters; and he was obliged to make a peace by which he conceded all the demands of the Peishwa, and bound himself to pay him £500,000 sterling. This humiliating peace, concluded in February, 1738, was only the forerunner of a far more overwhelming calamity.

Political state of Persia.

The Persian dynasty of the Sophis or Safaris, after existing for two centuries, became so degenerate as to fall an easy prey to the Afghans of Kandahar in 1722, when, on the capture of Ispahan, after a dreadful siege, Shah Hosen, the last Sophi, went forth with his principal courtiers in deep mourning, and with his own hand placed the diadem on the head of Mahmood, his Khilji conqueror. It had been worn by the new monarch only for two years when he died raving mad, and was succeeded by his nephew Ashref, who was no sooner seated on the throne than he was called to struggle against both foreign and internal foes. The Turks and Russians, leagued together to dismember the kingdom and share it between them, advanced, the one from the west and the other from the north, with powerful armies, while Tahmasp, who had made his escape from Ispahan when his father Shah Hosen was obliged to surrender, had mustered a body of retainers, and announced his determination to make

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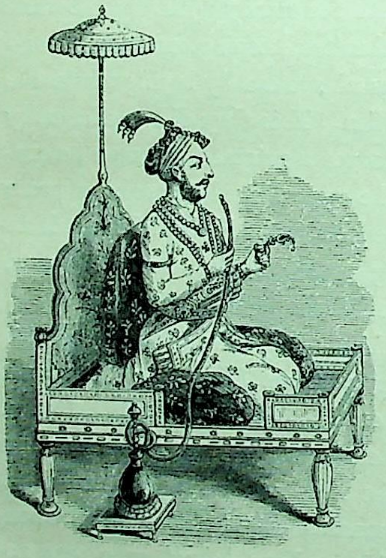
A.D. 1737.

good his claim to the crown which his ancestors had so long worn. Of these various combatants, it might have been supposed that the Turks and Russians, from the superiority of their discipline, would be the most formidable. It proved otherwise. Ashref compelled the Turks, after repeated defeats, to acknowledge his title; and, before he had measured his strength with the Russians, had the satisfaction to learn that the death of the czar had induced them to withdraw. Tahmasp alone remained, and was not to be so easily disposed of. In himself he was not very formidable, but fortune had drawn to his standard one of the greatest warriors whom Persia has ever produced. This was Nadir Kouli, who began life as the head of a band of freebooters, and at last, after freeing his country from a foreign yoke, became the usurper of its throne. Victory scarcely ever failed to attend him; and by dexterously playing the two leading Afghan tribes, the Khiljies and the Abdalees or Dooranees, against each other, succeeded in crushing both. Patriotism seemed for a time to be his ruling passion, and Tahmasp, as the legitimate monarch, ascended the Persian throne; but patriotism was eventually supplanted by ambition, and Nadir, unable to brook a superior, first declared the throne vacant, and then took possession of it in his own name in 1737, alleging that he had been called to it by the popular voice.

Rise of Nadir Shah.

His invasion of India.

Henceforth known as Nadir Shah, he resolved to pursue his career of victory; and proceeding eastward, at the head of an army of 80,000 men, laid siege to Kandahar. It originally belonged to the Persian monarchy, but had been wrested from it, and was now in possession of the Khiljies. It was valiantly defended, and stood several assaults before it was taken. The capture of Kandahar and conquest of the adjoining territory made Persia conterminous with India. Nadir Shah, as he looked eastward into the valley of the Indus, and beheld a mighty empire torn by intestine wars and tottering to its fall, must have been strongly tempted, if not to become its conqueror, to obtain a share in its spoils. He had already some ground of quarrel with its government. During the siege of Kandahar, not only had an application which he made for the delivery of some Afghans who had taken refuge within its territory been treated with neglect, but even the validity of his title to the Persian crown had been called in question. Instead of wasting time in unavailing remonstrance, he took a more effectual mode of expressing his resentment by seizing upon Cabool. The court of Delhi ought now to have



Nadir Shah.—From Fraser's Hist. of Nadir Shah.

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A.D. 1738.

been fully alive to the danger, but months passed away, during which Nadir was left to settle his conquest and make new preparations. The actual invasion seemed indeed to have become impossible, at least for one season; for the winter was approaching, and it was never dreamed that he would commence a campaign which, in its very first operations, would expose him to the rigours of a mountainous country and the assaults of its warlike inhabitants. How great then must have been the consternation when it was learned that all these supposed impossibilities had been overcome, and that Nadir, after crossing the Indus by a bridge of boats in November, 1738, had advanced into the Punjab at the head of a mighty army!

Nadir Shah defeats the Moguls.

Great as was the danger, so tardily were the means of defence provided, that Nadir for the first time came in sight of the Indian army after he had reached the banks of the Jumna, and was within 100 miles of the Mogul capital. Here, in the neighbourhood of Carnoul, Nizam-ul-Moolk, to whom the chief command was intrusted, occupied a fortified camp. Just at the time when Nadir was approaching, Saadut Khan arrived with a reinforcement from Oude, and the battle immediately commenced. The Indians, consisting for the most part of raw levies, were no match for the Persian veterans, and after little more than a show of resistance were signally discomfited. Mahomed Shah, deeming all further resistance hopeless, sent Nizam-ul-Moolk to make his submission, and then repaired in person to the Persian camp. He was courteously received, but was not permitted to attempt negotiation, as Nadir Shah, conscious of being complete master, had determined to dictate his terms within the walls of Delhi. Thither therefore the two monarchs proceeded, the one as a miserable captive, the other as a conqueror in triumphant procession at the head of his victorious army. The entrance took place in the beginning of March, 1739.

Delhi taken and sacked.

Nadir Shah took up his residence with Mahomed Shah at the palace, and appears, from the careful arrangements which he made for the maintenance of discipline and the protection of the inhabitants, to have meditated no greater severity than the levy of a very heavy contribution. This mild intention, if he had it, was frustrated by the inhabitants themselves. On the very second day, hastily believing a rumour of Nadir Shah's death, they broke through all restraint, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the Persians at their various isolated stations throughout the city. The shah was furious, and forthwith issued orders for a fearful retaliation. From sunrise to sunset the city was given up to the fury of 20,000 soldiers, and lust, rapine, and slaughter raged in their most horrific forms. This was only a deed of vengeance. Nadir's own claims still remained to be satisfied; and the work of confiscation and plunder was carried on for weeks without interruption. The "Peacock Throne" formed an important item in the spoils. At the most moderate estimate, the amount carried off in money, plate, and jewels, could not be less than £30,000,000 sterling.

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A.D. 1740.

Nadir Shah's departure.

After possessing Delhi during fifty-eight days Nadir Shah departed, leaving it a scene of wretchedness and desolation. The terror of the capital had spread into the provinces, the government was paralyzed, and the people remained sunk in a kind of stupor. The Mahrattas might now have completed their conquests, but even they were overawed by the suddenness and extent of the general calamity. Bajee Rao, adverting to it, expressed himself thus:—"Our domestic quarrels are now insignificant; there is but one enemy in Hindoostan." "Hindoos and Mussulmans—the whole power of the Deccan must assemble." These feelings of alarm soon began to subside, and the elements of disunion were again at work. At the court of Delhi old animosities resumed all their former bitterness. A powerful faction, composed of Turki, or as they were called Tooranee nobles, and headed by the Vizier Kamr-u-din Khan and Nizam-ul-Moolk, endeavoured to absorb the leading offices of the state, and even hold the emperor himself in subjection to their wishes, while their enemies were numerous and powerful enough to wage a constant struggle for ascendency. Feeble and discordant counsels were the necessary result, and no bond of union existed among the numerous dependencies still belonging nominally to the Mogul empire. In point of fact, the Mahrattas were now the most powerful nation on the Indian continent, and had the best prospect of becoming its ultimate masters. Even they, however, were not free from difficulties. Saho, the nominal head of the government, had been deprived of all real power, and reduced to a mere cipher. Several of the chiefs who willingly acknowledged his authority, were not disposed to yield the same submission to the usurpations of the Peishwa, and stood ready to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of either re-establishing the rajah or asserting their own independence. Bajee Rao, well aware of the precarious position in which he stood, was obliged to regulate his policy accordingly, and often abandoned the course which his judgment approved for that which his own immediate interest seemed to require. Before the Mogul government recovered from the shock given to it by Nadir Shah, he might easily have established the complete ascendency of his nation by mustering his forces and marching at once upon the capital. Instead of this, he suddenly withdrew into the Deccan. The only apparent inducement was, that he might be able more effectually to watch the proceedings of his countrymen, Ragojee Bosla and the Guicowar of Gujerat, who were plotting his overthrow. Of his feelings while thus employed he himself gave the following account:—"I am involved in difficulty, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison. Near the rajah are my enemies, and should I go at this time to Sattarah they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death." This solemn event was nearer than he imagined, for he died shortly after, on the 28th of April, 1740, as he was returning to Hindoostan.

Rival factions at Delhi.

Death of Bajee Rao.

Bajee Rao left three sons, the eldest of whom, Balajee Rao, succeeded him

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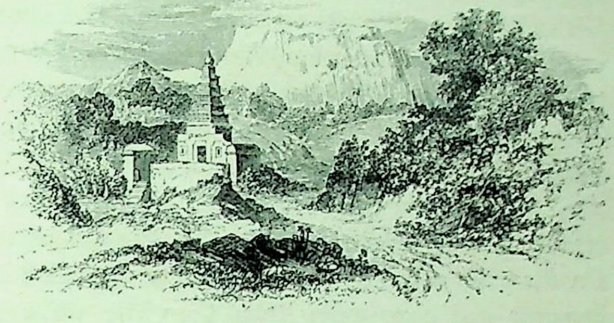
as Peishwa. The succession would have been disputed; but fortunately for him, Ragojee Bosla, his most formidable opponent, was absent with his army in the Carnatic, on an expedition on which Bajee Rao had despatched him, mainly for the purpose of preventing him from plotting mischief nearer home. On hearing of Bajee's death, he hastened back to Sattarah; but as he came without his army, and found the Guicowar and the *prti-nidhi*, or delegate of the rajah, on whose co-operation he had calculated, unprepared or indisposed to second him, he was obliged to abandon all thought of opposition, at least till a more favourable opportunity should arise. The death of Bajee Rao, and the time necessary to enable Balajee to secure himself in his new seat, gave Mahomed Shah a short respite from actual warfare. It was only a respite; for the clouds of another storm were again gathering thick around him, and indeed from so many quarters, that it was difficult to say from which it was destined first to come. On the one hand Balajee Rao, advancing into Malwah, insisted that this province should, in terms of the treaty which had been made with Nizam-ul-Moolk, but which had never received the imperial sanction, be formally confirmed to him; on the other hand the Rohillas, a recent Afghan colony occupying the tract which from them still bears the name of Rohilcund, had begun, under an able leader of the name of Ali Mahomed, to assume an alarming appearance. In themselves, indeed, the Rohillas were not so numerous as to be very formidable; but they belonged to the warlike race which had repeatedly devastated the fairest provinces of India, and the danger apprehended was, that in the event of a new invasion from the west, they would league with their countrymen. The idea of such an invasion was by no means chimerical. Ever since the visit of Nadir Shah, who on retiring declared the Indus to be the eastern boundary of the Persian monarchy, it had been threatened, and in consequence of recent political changes in Persia it was becoming a certainty.

A.D. 1747.



SATTARAH.—From Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

Impending dangers of the Mogul empire.

Death of Nadir Shah.

Nadir Shah perished by the hands of assassins in June, 1747. He had latterly become a cruel tyrant, and deserved his fate; though it was not so much his cruelty as his form of Mahometan faith that provoked it. He was a Sunnite, while the Persians were zealous Shiites. The repugnance between them was therefore invincible, and his death was the work of Persian conspirators. But the same cause which made the Persians abhor his rule was its greatest recommendation to the Afghans, who like him were Sunnites, and devotedly

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A.D. 1748.

attached to his service. Accordingly the Abdalees, headed by their hereditary chief, Ahmed Khan, on hearing of the conspiracy, had hastened to the rescue; and, after finding that they were a day too late, fought their way through the hostile Persians, and succeeded in reaching their own country. Ahmed Khan immediately declared himself independent, changed the name of his tribe from Abdalee to Dooranee, and before a year elapsed was crowned king at Kandahar. Ere long Balkh, Scinde, Cashmere, and other provinces, acknowledged his sway. His ambition was not yet satisfied, and he looked round for new fields of conquest. Both the west and east lay before him, but various reasons induced him to prefer the latter. The left bank of the Indus was already in his power; and among other temptations to cross this river and commence an Indian campaign, was the fact that a civil war was raging in the Punjab in consequence of the revolt of its Mogul governor. Little opposition was made; and Ahmed, after capturing many towns, including Lahore, the capital, arrived at the Sutlej. On the other side lay a Mogul army, commanded by Prince Ahmed, the heir apparent, and Kamr-u-din Khan, the vizier. The Abdalee force, though not mustering 12,000 men, crossed the river by selecting a spot which, from not being fordable, was not watched; and, hastening on to Sirhind, made a rich capture of stores and baggage. This bold movement so intimidated the Moguls, that notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, they stood on the defensive, and even formed an entrenched camp. This course, dictated by excessive timidity, was the wisest which they could have pursued. The Dooranees had no alternative but to retreat, or hazard a battle under the most disadvantageous circumstances. They chose the latter and sustained a defeat, but took advantage of the night to escape.

Rise of Ahmed Shah Abdalee.

Death of Mahomed Shah

The Mogul vizier had fallen, and the Mogul prince was prevented from following up his victory, by the intelligence that the succession to the crown had opened to him by the death of his father in April, 1748. Mahomed Shah thus ended a reign, remarkable only for its length, during a most disastrous period. Prince Ahmed, henceforth known by the title of Ahmed Shah, immediately repaired to Delhi; and his Afghan namesake, now distinguished from him by the name of Ahmed Shah Dooranee, instead of continuing his retreat, stopped short, and did not quit the Punjab till he had made it tributary. This, however, did not satisfy him. After a short absence he returned, and insisted on a formal cession of the whole province. As he was able to take it by force, it was deemed good policy to make a merit of necessity, and give him all he asked. This concession may serve to characterize Ahmed Shah's short and inglorious reign. The office of vizier, first offered to Nizam-ul-Moolk, who declined it, and died almost immediately after, in 1748, was conferred on Sufder Jung, who had succeeded his father, Saadut Khan, as governor of Oude. He soon gave proof of his unfitness, by undertaking an expedition against the Rohillas, and so mismanaging it as to allow them to penetrate to Allahabad,

Inglorious reign of Ahmed Shah.

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and set the whole Mogul power at defiance. In this emergency he could devise no better remedy than to call in the aid of the Mahrattas, who indeed drove out the Rohillas, but compensated themselves by establishing a right to levy the chout over all the territory that they conquered. After a course of intrigue and crime, Sufder Jung was supplanted in the royal favour by Ghazi-u-din, one of Nizam-ul-Moolk's grandsons, an unprincipled youth familiar with perfidy and murder. Like Sufder he employed the Mahrattas to extricate himself from difficulties, and ultimately succeeded by these means, in July, 1754, in seizing the person of his sovereign, Ahmed Shah, and raising to the throne a young prince of the blood, who assumed the title of Alumgeer. A.D. 1758.

Reign of Alumgeer II.

Alumgeer—or, as he is often called, Alumgeer II., to distinguish him from Aurungzebe, who used the same title in all regular documents—usually closes the list of Mogul sovereigns who actually held the reins of government. For this reason, more than any other, he is entitled to a brief notice. When he was raised to the throne, Sufder Jung was still nominally vizier. On his death, which happened soon after, he was succeeded by his son Shuja-u-Dowlah in the government of Oude, but the viziership was immediately appropriated by Ghazi-u-din, under whose mismanagement nothing but additional confusion and disaster could be anticipated. By treacherously seizing the infant successor of the governor of the Punjab, whom Ahmed Shah Dooranee had appointed, he provoked the vengeance of this formidable foe, who, having crossed the Indus, did not halt till he had made himself master of Delhi, and inflicted on this ill-fated city a renewal of the calamities which it had suffered from Nadir Shah. So low had the authority of the sovereign now fallen, that Alumgeer is said to have besought Ahmed not to leave him to the mercy of his vizier. Accordingly, on departing, he endeavoured to provide a kind of counterpoise by giving the command of the army to an able Rohilla chief of the name of Najib-u-Dowlah. Ghazi-u-din only waited till Ahmed was out of India, and then endeavoured to set Najib aside, in order to make way for one of his own creatures. Meeting with a resistance which he was unable to overcome, he again called in the aid of the Mahrattas, who advanced from Malwah under Ragoba, the second son of Bajee Rao, entered Delhi, and after spending a month in the siege of the fortified palace, compelled Alumgeer to reinstate Ghazi-u-din in all his former authority.

The Mahrattas in the Punjab.

As usual, the Mahrattas took good care to be fully compensated for their service. Feeling that no effectual resistance could be offered, they set no limits to their ambition, and openly talked of extending their conquests over the whole of Hindoostan. The Punjab first attracted their attention, and Ragoba, learning that it was feebly governed by Timour, a son of Ahmed Shah Dooranee, marched at once to Lahore, gained possession of it in May, 1758, and continuing his triumphant career, so intimidated the Dooranees, that they retired beyond the Indus without risking a battle. The Mahrattas next engaged in a similar attempt to subjugate Oude, but were met with spirit by Shuja-u-Dowlah, who,

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A.D. 1759. in league with the Rohillas, inflicted a severe loss on an isolated detachment, and drove it across the Ganges. Datajee Scindia, the Mahratta in command of the main body, deemed it expedient to come to terms, and a kind of peace, not intended to be long kept, was patched up.

New invasion of Ahmed Shah Dooranee.

One main inducement to the peace was the rumoured approach of Ahmed Shah Dooranee. When his son Timour arrived from the Punjab, he was engaged in suppressing a revolt among the Beloochees. This delayed him till September, 1759, when he commenced a new Indian campaign by crossing the Indus at Peshawer, and continuing his course to Saharunpoor, at some distance beyond the left bank of the Jumna. While he was thus advancing, Ghazi-u-din—remembering how Alumgeer had formerly obtained the protection of Ahmed, and nearly succeeded in expelling him from his viziership—was determined not again to run a similar risk, and followed the course which his cruel and perfidious nature dictated, by causing the unhappy monarch to be assassinated in November, 1759. Shah Alum, the heir apparent, was then absent in Bengal, and the new prince whom Ghazi-u-din seated on the throne was never recognized. There was thus no ostensible sovereign at Delhi; the Mogul empire had ceased to exist.

Prospect of a Mahratta empire.

When the Mogul empire was extinguished, the general expectation was that a Mahratta empire would immediately arise on its ruins. Originally confined to a limited district in the Deccan, the Mahrattas had established their ascendency in every part of India, possessing immense tracts of territory in absolute right, and levying heavy tribute from nearly the whole of the remainder. One great obstacle to the establishment of a consolidated Mahratta empire had been disunion among the members composing its confederacy. Saho, its nominal head, had been deprived of all real power by the Peishwa. Latterly, indeed, he was unfit for government, and died in a state of imbecility, in 1749. This event led to new complications, which were not arranged until many of the chiefs had acquired a kind of independence and become the founders of minor dynasties. Among the more conspicuous of these were Petajee Guicowar in Gujerat, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Datajee Scindia, who, by obtaining an assignment to nearly the whole revenues of Malwah, secured the dominions which still bear their name and are possessed by their descendants. Other chiefs who have not left such permanent traces of their authority were equally powerful. Ragojee Bosla and Ragoba have been already mentioned. Another, Sedashao Rao Bhao, or simply "the Bhao," a cousin of the Peishwa Balajee, possessed great influence, but had been contented, while the other chiefs were pursuing distant conquests, to remain in the Deccan as home minister and commander-in-chief. He was acting in this capacity when Ragoba returned from his campaign in the Punjab. His success had not been obtained without a very heavy outlay, and the Bhao, on learning that, instead of bringing any sum into the treasury, he had made it liable to a debt of nearly £1,000,000

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sterling, expressed his dissatisfaction so strongly, that Ragoba was piqued, and told him he had better conduct the next expedition himself. The Bhao, elated by some recent successes which had somewhat increased the Mahratta territory, and added largely to its revenue, was not disinclined to avail himself of an opportunity of acquiring new distinction. Treating Ragoba's taunt as if it had been a serious proposal, he exchanged situations with him, and assumed the chief command in Hindoostan. A.D. 1759.

Decisive struggle between the Mahrattas and Doorances.

The only formidable enemy whom the Mahrattas had now to encounter was in the field. Ahmed Shah Dooranee, after nearly annihilating two separate Mahratta detachments, the one commanded by Holkar and the other by Scindia, had taken up a position at Anopsheher, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, seventy-three miles south-east of Delhi. The Bhao, accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir of the Peishwa, and the leading Mahratta chiefs, advanced at the head of a numerous host, without encountering serious opposition, and having gained possession of the capital, disgraced himself by rapacity. Palaces, tombs, and shrines were defaced for the sake of their rich ornaments, and the silver ceiling of the hall of audience torn down was coined into rupees, to the amount, it is said, of seventeen lacs (£170,000). Ahmed, in addition to his own Doorances, was cordially joined by the Rohillas, and rather lukewarmly by Shuja-u-Dowlah, governor of Oude, who would willingly have remained neutral, and afterwards made the most of the event by taking part with the winning side. As the contest, however, had assumed a religious aspect, the Hindoos being ranged on one side and Mahometans on the other, he found it impossible to withhold his aid from Ahmed, who was considered as the representative of the latter.

DOORANEES.—From Elphinstone's Cabool.

Their two armies.

Ahmed, as soon as the rains permitted him to move, hastened to the Jumna, with the view of relieving a fort on its banks to which the Mahrattas had laid siege. He arrived only in time to learn that it had fallen, but showed such desperate determination, by effecting a passage of the river more by swimming than fording, that his enemies were intimidated and drew off to Paniput. Here the Bhao encamped with an army consisting of 70,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, of whom 9000 were disciplined sepoys. In addition to these were

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A.D. 1759. predatory and other followers to the number of 200,000. In artillery, an arm of war which the Mahrattas had at last learned to prize, he was amply provided, and was able, after surrounding his camp with a broad and deep ditch, to mount 200 guns for its defence. Ahmed's army consisted of about 40,000 Afghans and Persians, and 50,000 Indians, of whom 13,000 were cavalry. The armies were thus not unfairly matched. In respect of available troops they were nearly equal, while at the same time each laboured under a great disadvantage—the Bhao, in the excessive number of followers, who, without adding to his strength, hampered his movements and consumed his provisions; and Ahmed, in an artillery so defective that it barely mustered thirty pieces of various calibre, and, furnishing no proper means of attack, compelled him to imitate the Bhao's example, and remain on the defensive.

The battle of Paniput.

Under such circumstances, time rather than prowess was to decide the struggle; for neither leader felt disposed to force on an action so long as he could obtain subsistence for his army from the surrounding country. At this mode of warfare the Mahrattas could not easily be surpassed, and their foraging parties at first found no difficulty in bringing in abundant supplies. Gradually, however, the Dooranees, by the rapidity and boldness of their movements, made foraging so dangerous, that the Bhao, threatened with famine, saw the peril of his position, and attempted to escape from it by proposing negotiation. Ahmed, whose supplies had also begun to fail, was urged by his Indian allies to come to terms or risk a decisive action; but his constant answer was—"This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me." He was aware of the straits to which his enemies were reduced; and, even after they had begun in a kind of desperation to make vigorous attacks upon his lines, seemed more inclined than ever to confine himself to skirmishing, in which he usually had the advantage. He was well aware of the crisis which was approaching, and fully prepared to profit by it. The Bhao's supplies were completely exhausted; and after a last effort at foraging which proved utterly unavailing, becoming convinced that he could no longer maintain his position, he yielded to the urgency of his soldiers, and, with many prognostications of disaster, issued orders for a general attack. It was made with the utmost impetuosity, and so long as it was directed against the Rohillas and other Indian allies of Ahmed, seemed irresistible. The Dooranee chief endeavoured to rally the fugitives, but finding it impossible, ordered his own men to advance. This at once changed the fortune of the day. By a dexterous movement, while the main body attacked in front, a division wheeled round to the flank, and the whole Mahratta army, panic-struck by this double onset, turned their backs and fled. As no quarter was given, the slaughter was fearful. About 200,000 are said to have fallen. Among the slain were the Peishwa's son Wiswas Rao, the Bhao, recognized only by what was supposed to be his headless trunk, and many other great Mahratta chiefs. The dream of a Mah-

Defeat of the Mahrattas.

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ratta empire had vanished. The wreck of the army, abandoning the acquisitions made in Hindoostan, retired beyond the Nerbudda; the Peishwa, shutting himself up in a temple near Poonah, died of a broken heart; and the whole nation, sunk in grief and despondency, became as it were paralyzed. A.D. 1742.

Approaching struggle between Great Britain and France.

Strange to say, Ahmed did not profit much by his victory, for the Mahometan confederacy which he had formed having broken up, he quitted India, and never returned to take any share in its affairs. The only two powers which then seemed capable of wielding the sceptre, which had been wrested from the hands of the Mogul, having thus been providentially removed, the work of conquest passed to other hands. The two most powerful nations of Europe, after they had long been contented to play a subordinate part in the contest, resolved at last to become principals, and France and Great Britain started as rival candidates for the establishment of a new Indian empire. The history of this memorable struggle is now to engage our attention.

CHAPTER II.

The progress of the French in India—War between France and England—Naval and military operations —The capture of Madras.

Rise and progress of the French East India Company.

FROM the first the French East India Company, much more than that of England, was the creature of the state. All the influence of the crown was employed to obtain subscribers to their funds; and no unimportant part of the official correspondence of a commercial nature, during the ministry of the celebrated Colbert, relates to solicitations employed for this purpose. It is very questionable whether the prosperity of the company was much promoted by this state patronage, but there cannot be a doubt that they were able in consequence of it to escape many of the dangers which might have beset them at the outset, and to start at once as a body able not only to repel aggression but to become aggressive. The alarm which their presence in the East excited in the Dutch and English companies must not be ascribed exclusively to commercial jealousy. As mere traders they could not appear very formidable rivals, but from their close connection with government their trade might easily be made subservient to political purposes, and become a dangerous instrument of intrigue at the native courts. In this way Louis XIV., not satisfied with disturbing the peace of Europe by his ambitious schemes, might be tempted to extend them to India, and by engaging in wars of conquest make the operations of trade impossible. Knowing the character of the French monarch, it was not uncharitable to

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A.D. 1742. suspect him of such intentions. It must be confessed, however, that the company established under his auspices continued for the greater part of a century to rest satisfied with commercial operations, and the erection of such factories as seemed necessary for conducting them with ease and safety. The most important of the localities on which they had thus fixed were those of Chandernagore, situated, like the Dutch factory of Chinsurah, near the town of Hooghly, on the river of that name in Bengal, and Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast. The latter was the seat of government, and had gradually become, by the regularity of its buildings and the strength of its fortifications, worthy of the honour thus assigned to it, though, like Madras and all other places on the same coast, it laboured under the great disadvantage of having no proper harbour.

Dupleix appointed governor.

In the year 1742 the office of governor of the French settlements in India was conferred on Joseph Dupleix. The son of a wealthy farmer-general and a director of the company, he had at a comparatively early age obtained the appointment of first member of council at Pondicherry. After ten years' service in this capacity, he was, in 1730, made head of the factory of Chandernagore. Here by engaging in private trade he accumulated a large fortune; and at the same time, by the ability of his public management, rose so high in the confidence of his employers, that in 1742, as already mentioned, they made him governor. Thus recalled to Pondicherry, he entered on the duties of his new station in the possession of very superior advantages. To natural talents of a high order, he added a thorough acquaintance with the manners of the inhabitants, and with the political circumstances of the country. These advantages both vanity and ambition disposed him to improve to the utmost, and he was no sooner installed in office than he began to entertain schemes with a view to the ultimate establishment of French ascendency in the East. It was vain to expect this from the commercial operations of the company. In these it had been found impossible to compete successfully with the British and the Dutch; but another course was still open, and Dupleix was determined to put its practicability fairly to the test.

His ambitious designs.

The approaching dismemberment of the Mogul empire was now manifest. Its soubahdars or governors were almost openly aspiring to independence, and even their subordinate deputies, or nabobs, were disposed to imitate the example. The parties thus formed were often so equally balanced, that neutrals of comparatively feeble resources could easily, by throwing their weight into one of the opposite scales, determine the result. This was the plan on which the governor of Pondicherry began to act. In carrying it out he found an able coadjutor in his own family. Madame Dupleix, though of European parentage, had been born and brought up in India. Many of the native languages were familiar to her, and by giving easy access to the natives enabled her to be the fittest medium of communication between them and her husband in any course of intrigue.

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A.D. 1744.

In this way his measures for extending the influence and territory of the French in India were carried on with equal secrecy and success.

War between Great Britain and France.

While Dupleix was revolving plans of aggrandisement, and smoothing the way for the accomplishment of them, the relations between Great Britain and France had ceased to be friendly, and the war known as that of the Austrian succession was declared in 1744. The companies on both sides of the Channel supposed it possible that warlike operations might be excluded from the countries lying within the limits of the Indian Ocean, and with this view endeavoured to enter into arrangements which would have left each as free as before to prosecute the Indian trade. Had the respective governments sanctioned the arrangements, the singular and not uninstructive spectacle might have been seen of two nations living peacefully with each other in one quarter of the globe while a fierce war was raging between them in all other quarters. But without such sanction the proposed arrangement, though seriously entertained, was a dream. This seems ultimately to have been the conclusion of all parties, for it soon appeared that at the very time when the proposal of an Indian neutrality was under discussion, the French government were secretly entertaining a project which was to enable them, as soon as war was actually declared, to bring an overwhelming force into the East, and strike a blow by which English interests there would be at once annihilated.

The project referred to was suggested to the French ministry by Bernard François Mahé de la Bourdonnais, usually designated for brevity as Labourdonnais. He was born at St. Malo, apparently of humble parentage, in 1699, and when only ten years of age began life as a sailor, by making a voyage to the Pacific. During a second voyage, made in 1713, to the East Indies, he employed his leisure in studying mathematics, under a Jesuit who happened to be on board, and kindly undertook to give him lessons. After other two voyages, one to the North and the other to the Levant, he in 1719 entered the service of the East India Company as

LABOURDONNAIS.—From a print by Vin. Vangelisty, 1776.

Early career of Labourdonnais.

second lieutenant, and had become second captain in 1724, when he took part in an expedition to the Malabar coast, for the purpose of relieving the settlement of Mahé, which had for a considerable time been suffering severely from a blockade by the natives. The success of the expedition was mainly owing to his ability; but from some cause not explained, he shortly after quitted the company's service and engaged in commerce, making several suc-

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A.D. 1735.

cessful voyages, from Pondicherry to Bengal, and to Mocha in the Red Sea. In the latter locality he employed his influence in reconciling a serious difference which had arisen between the Arabs and the Portuguese. His conduct in this matter was gratefully remembered by the viceroy at Goa, who, on a visit which Labourdonnais paid to that capital, made him such tempting offers that he was induced to enter the service of Portugal. The object intended at the time was an expedition to Mombas, on the east coast of Africa; but this having been abandoned, he did not find the scope for his talents which he had anticipated, and returned to France in 1733. The following year he obtained the important appointment of governor of the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, and the Isle of Bourbon, situated in the Indian Ocean to the east of Madagascar. These isles had early become known to the Portuguese, and were at a later period frequented by the Dutch, who gave one of them its name of Mauritius in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau; but their importance as intermediate stations for ships sailing to the East had been first discerned by the French, who had regularly colonized them, and placed them under a distinct governor.

Labourdonnais' reforms at the Isle of France.

When Labourdonnais arrived at his government in 1735 he found everything in confusion. The two islands had separate councils, which, claiming equal jurisdiction, were constantly disputing as to the extent of their powers; abuses of every kind prevailed, and the capabilities of the soil remained almost totally undeveloped. The new governor at once saw the greatness and difficulty of the task which lay before him, and immediately commenced it with characteristic energy. Ere long the face of matters was completely changed. The kinds of cultivation best adapted for each island were rapidly extended; new towns and villages arose, harbours capable not only of supplying the wants of commerce, but of furnishing a rendezvous for ships of war, were constructed and fortified; and, government no longer hampered by the selfish aims and unseemly quarrels of those who administered it, became regular and effective. In carrying on this work of reform Labourdonnais often encountered an opposition which obliged him to stretch his powers to the utmost, and perhaps occasionally to exceed them. Those who had profited by abuses were naturally hostile to the removal of them, while many from mere natural indolence were indisposed to great and sudden changes, even when they could not deny them to be improvements. A spirit of hostility was thus engendered, and continued to manifest itself by murmur, complaint, and misrepresentation. These, though probably loudest in the islands, were not so effective there as in France, where, the facts being imperfectly known, were easily distorted. The consequence

His aim misrepresented in France.

was, that while Labourdonnais was labouring with the utmost zeal and disinterestedness for the public good, he was generally stigmatized among his countrymen as little better than a selfish and capricious tyrant. He appears not to have been aware of the amount of prejudice which had been raised against

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him till 1740, when, having visited Europe in consequence of the death of his wife, he had ample proof of the bitterness and unscrupulousness with which he was pursued by his enemies. A.D. 1742.

Labourdonnais' project for establishing French ascendency.

Labourdonnais took immediate steps to set himself right with the ministry, the directors of the company, and the public at large, and succeeded so well that not only was his resignation refused, but new and important powers were committed to him. In the interviews which he had with Cardinal Fleury and the other members of the French cabinet, he did not rest satisfied with exculpating himself from absurd charges, but gave a full exposition of his views as to the course of policy which ought to be pursued in the East. Assuming that France and Great Britain were about to be at open war, he endeavoured to show that the maintenance of peace between the two East India Companies was impolitic if not impossible, and that no time should be lost in providing a fleet, which, cruising in the Indian Ocean, might be ready the moment war was declared to establish a complete supremacy. So satisfied was he of the valuable prizes which might be made by preying on the English company, that he offered to form a private association, which would fit out a number of armed vessels at its own expense, and be contented with the profits which might be realized by privateering.

His expedition to the East.

The French government refused to sanction the private scheme, but resolved to effect the same object by means of an expedition consisting of vessels belonging partly to the navy and partly to the East India Company. The command was given to Labourdonnais, who set sail 5th April, 1741, for the Isle of France. His fleet was neither so numerous nor so well equipped as he had anticipated, but he was full of resources in himself, and possessed such a knowledge of naval and military affairs as enabled him to repair the defects of the ships and give the necessary training to the crews and soldiers. His object was to be ready as soon as the declaration of war should reach him to strike the meditated blow. In the meantime he hastened to Pondicherry, which was said to be threatened by the Mahrattas; and on learning that the danger had blown past, proceeded to the Malabar coast, where Mahé was once more indebted to him for deliverance from a formidable attack of the natives. On again arriving at the Isle of France, in 1742, he met with a bitter disappointment. The directors of the French East India Company had been somewhat cavalierly treated by the government, who had made all their arrangements with Labourdonnais without giving them any proper share in their deliberations. Their consent to his expedition being therefore rather forced than voluntary, they were more disposed to frustrate than to forward it. Accordingly, still dreaming of a possible neutrality between the companies, they easily found a pretext for issuing peremptory orders for the return of their vessels to France. Labourdonnais did not venture to disobey, and thus saw himself deprived of the main part of his fleet at the very time when the period for action was to all appearance about to arrive. His first

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A.D. 1746. feeling was again to tender his resignation; but a communication from the French minister approving of his past conduct, and pointing to higher promotion, induced him to remain at his post, and make new efforts to assemble a force which might yet enable him to execute his original project. He was thus employed when the war was openly declared.

Arrival of a British squadron.

The British government, well aware of what was intended by France, had not omitted to make the necessary preparations. A British squadron, commanded by Commodore Barnet, and consisting of two ships of sixty, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty guns, appeared opportunely in the eastern seas. At first it cruised in two divisions, in the Straits of Sunda and of Malacca, and made several valuable French prizes. One of the vessels taken was immediately rendered available by being converted into a forty-gun ship, bearing the name of the *Medway's Prize*. The squadron having left the straits, arrived on the Coromandel coast for the first time in July, 1745. At this time the French had no fleet on the coast, and Pondicherry with its fortifications in an unfinished state had a garrison of only 436 Europeans. It promised to be an easy capture, but was saved by the dexterity of Dupleix, who, aware that force would not avail him, had recourse to diplomacy. Pondicherry, though really independent, belonged nominally to the nabobship of Arcot. This fact was turned to good account by the French governor, who, by flattering the pride of the nabob, and claiming his protection, induced him to intimate to the governor and council of Madras, that any attempt by land on the French settlements in Arcot would be treated as an act of hostility against himself. It was represented to him in reply, that the commander of the squadron, holding his commission directly from the King of Great Britain, was independent of the Company; but he could not, or would not understand the distinction, and only answered, that if his intimation was disregarded he would hold the Company responsible for the consequences. The time had not yet arrived for treating such menaces with defiance; and therefore, on an assurance from the nabob that he would deal impartially between the companies, and issue a similar prohibition to the French, in the event of any meditated attack on the English settlements, Commodore Barnet, at the earnest entreaty of the government of Madras, abandoned all idea of land operations, and, after making a few additional prizes in the Bay of Bengal, retired for shelter during the monsoon to the island of Mergui on the eastern shore. In the beginning of 1746 the squadron returned to the Coromandel coast, and was reinforced from England by two ships of fifty and a frigate of twenty guns. This, however, did not make much addition to its absolute strength, as one of the sixty-gun ships having become unfit for action was sent home, and along with it the original frigate.

Relative strength of the British and French squadrons.

The English squadron, confined by the agreement which had been made with the nabob to operations at sea, was unable to effect anything of consequence, and was continuing a cruise rewarded only by a few paltry prizes, when intelli-

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gence arrived that Labourdonnais had at last effected his object and sailed for India with a fleet which might be expected to put British prowess to the test. At this critical moment Commodore Barnet died at Fort St. David, and was succeeded by Captain Peyton, who was his second in command, and very imperfectly supplied his place. The squadrons first came in sight of each other on the 25th of June, when the English were cruising on the Coromandel coast near Negapatam. The French fleet consisted of nine ships, the largest of which, mounting seventy guns, of which sixty were eighteen-pounders, carried Labourdonnais' flag. The rest of the ships were of much smaller size and lighter metal, and carried as follows:—one, thirty-six; three, thirty-four; one, thirty; two, twenty-eight; and one, twenty-six guns; almost all twelve and eight pounders. These ships, however, were much larger than the number of their guns indicates, as Labourdonnais, after exerting himself to the utmost under very unfavourable circumstances, had been unable to give them their full complement. On the other hand they carried more than the usual complement of men, having on board 3300. Of these 700 were Africans or Lascars, and about 300 unfit for duty from sickness. The English had not above half the number of men; but, unlike the majority of the French, they were well disciplined; they had also fewer guns, but more than made up for the deficiency by superior weight.

A.D. 1746.

Encounter between the squadrons.

All things considered, the English squadron had thus decidedly the advantage. So conscious, indeed, was Labourdonnais of his inferiority in real naval strength, that his great object was to come as speedily as possible to close quarters, and turn his superiority in the number of men to account by having recourse to boarding. In this object he was baffled by the English, whose vessels, besides sailing and manucevring better than his, had the advantage of the wind, and succeeded in frustrating all the efforts of Labourdonnais to deprive them of it. From the long time spent by the one party in making and the other in counteracting these efforts, the fight did not commence till four in the afternoon. Owing to the distance maintained, it was almost entirely confined to the cannon, and lasted till nightfall without any decisive results. When the combatants separated, it was apparently with the intention of renewing the engagement on the following day, but Peyton, after obtaining the sanction of a council of war, deemed it prudent to sheer off, and virtually acknowledging a defeat, without having actually sustained it, made the best of his way to Trincomalee in Ceylon. The only reason assigned was the leaky condition of the sixty-gun ship.

Coolness between Dupleix and Labourdonnais.

Labourdonnais, who was waiting to resume the fight, was astonished, when the morning dawned, to find that he had already gained the victory. He could not pursue, as the wind was against him; and, in fact, though he speaks with regret of the enemy having escaped him, was not at all displeased with their departure, inasmuch as his loss had been more severe than theirs, and both the

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A.D. 1746.

state of his ships and want of provisions must have compelled him speedily to retire. Thanking his good fortune, he steered directly for Pondicherry. Immediately on his arrival, his reception by the governor convinced him that he had little to expect from his co-operation. Dupleix, whose vanity and ambition were still greater than his talents, could not conceal his jealousy of Labourdonnais. He saw in him the person who, in the event of anything befalling himself, was destined to be his successor, and he was mortified to find that an expedition, destined to act within the limits of what he conceived to be his exclusive jurisdiction, had been placed beyond his control, the only instructions given him being to assist it with his advice and second it with his efforts. The feelings which rankled in his mind, scarcely disguised at the first, were soon openly manifested, and led eventually to a course of proceedings which ruined both Labourdonnais and Dupleix, sacrificed the French interests in India, and saved those of Great Britain from impending destruction.

Unaccountable backwardness of the British naval commander.

After a short and unsatisfactory consultation, in which the only point settled was, that Labourdonnais' first endeavour must be to clear the coast of the English squadron, he set sail with that view, and had the satisfaction to learn that the danger apprehended from it was groundless. Judging by what the English commander ought to have done, he naturally expected that he would soon reappear, and even though too cautious or cowardly to risk a general action, would keep hovering on the coast, so as to keep up a constant alarm, and make it most hazardous, if not impossible, for the French to disembark their troops for the purpose of making an attempt upon Madras. This was visibly the great object now in contemplation, and to prevent the execution of it the commander of the British fleet ought to have devoted his utmost efforts. After spending a month at Trincomalee he did make his appearance, but it was only to repeat his former procedure, and save himself by flight, because he had discovered or imagined, that while his force remained the same, that of the enemy had been augmented by additional guns procured at Pondicherry.

State of the town of Madras.

Convinced that he had nothing to fear from the English squadron, Labourdonnais returned to Pondicherry, and began to prepare in earnest for the siege of Madras. It was a prize worth fighting for, and to all appearance might be gained without much struggle. Within the territory belonging to it, and forming a tract which stretched about five miles along the coast and one mile inland, a population of 250,000 had been gathered, but nearly the whole of it consisted of natives, by whom it was known that no resistance would be offered. Madras itself consisted of three divisions. Farthest north was an immense assemblage of huts, huddled together without any order, and occupied entirely by the lowest classes of natives; immediately adjoining this suburb, on the south, was what was called the Black Town, containing many good houses, which belonged to Indian and Armenian merchants, and surrounded by a wall of so little height and strength as to be almost useless for defence; south of this lay

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the town proper, or Fort St. George. It formed a parallelogram about 400 yards long from north to south, and 100 yards broad. It was inclosed by a slender wall, and defended by four bastions and batteries of defective construction. A.D. 1746.

FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, 1754.—From a print by Van Ryne, Royal Library, British Museum.

There were no outworks. Within the inclosure were an English and a Roman Catholic church, the factory and buildings connected with it, and about fifty good houses, occupied by English, or other Europeans under their protection. Their whole number did not exceed 300. Of these 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. Few of the common men and only two or three of the officers had ever seen service.

Madras besieged and taken.

As the danger which threatened the settlement must have been foreseen, it is impossible to exculpate the authorities from the charge of gross negligence in not providing better against it. If they trusted to the promise of the nabob to interfere for their protection, as he had for that of the French, they were soon made aware of the folly of leaning on such a broken reed. Their application to him was disregarded, either because Dupleix had previously gained his ear, or they were too parsimonious to make a liberal use of the only means which could have rendered it effectual; and Labourdonnais, after completing his preparations without interruption, cast anchor on the 14th of September, about four leagues south of Madras, with nine ships and two bomb-vessels. On board were 2900 European mariners and soldiers, 400 Africans, 400 Indian natives, and all the artillery and stores necessary for the siege. The soldiers being immediately landed began to advance along the shore, while the fleet proceeded to take up its station as near Madras as it could safely approach.

The fort attacked.

The fort alone being capable of any resistance, Labourdonnais naturally directed his attack against it, and having erected a battery of nine mortars, on an open space to the west, at the distance of 500 yards, commenced the bombardment. Defence was never seriously contemplated; but immediate surrender was delayed in the hope that the English squadron might make its appearance. Its approach was at one time actually rumoured, and spread such consternation

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A.D. 1746.

among the French, that they were preparing to decamp. Unhappily for the besieged it proved a false alarm, and Labourdonnais, only urged by it to more strenuous exertions, not only opened another battery to the south, but began to cannonade from the sea. An assault had now become imminent, and in order to avert its horrors, a flag of truce was sent from the town. The deputies who accompanied it proposed a ransom, but Labourdonnais at once declared, that though he was not unwilling to entertain such a proposal, it could only be after the capture was completed by a surrender. Ultimately, after he had given his word of honour that the ransom would be moderate, his terms were accepted, and he entered the town in triumph. Though the siege lasted and the bombardment continued with interruptions from the 18th to the 25th of September, so bloodless was it that not one Frenchman was killed, and only five Englishmen.

Terms of capitulation.

By the terms of capitulation the whole of the merchandise and the moveable property passed at once to the captors, and all the English became prisoners of war. The important point of the ransom remained to be settled, but the honourable and liberal spirit which characterized Labourdonnais' proceedings made it impossible to doubt that it would be fairly, amicably, and generously arranged. Suddenly it was whispered that a serious difficulty had arisen. Dupleix, on the ground that Madras was locally within his government of India, claimed a right to dispose of it. So confident was he of possessing this right, or at least so determined was he to insist upon it, that on receiving a letter from the Nabob of Arcot, who had now, when too late, endeavoured to interdict the French from laying siege to Madras, he had pacified him by promising that the town when taken would be delivered into his hands. From the subsequent proceedings of Dupleix it is plain that he never meant to have fulfilled this promise. It furnished him, however, with a plausible pretext for sending a letter to Labourdonnais, in which he desired him not to consent to any terms of ransom, and intimated for the first time that he considered himself entitled to speak authoritatively on the subject.

Dupleix interferes.

Before this letter arrived, the capitulation, including the ransom as one of its essential conditions, had taken place. As a completed act, Labourdonnais could not honourably recede. Nor did he wish it; for, so far from acquiescing in the alleged right of Dupleix to dictate the terms of the capitulation, he regarded it as an arrogant assumption, at total variance with their respective commissions. Instead of deviating from the course originally chalked out, he proceeded to fix the amount of the ransom. Dupleix now listened only to his passion, and even endeavoured to gain his object by attempting to seize the person of Labourdonnais, and tampering with the soldiers under his command. At Pondicherry, also, he entered on a course of intrigue, and endeavoured to gain a kind of sanction to his proceedings, by inducing the French inhabitants to petition and protest against the ransom as most injurious to French interests. Labourdonnais remained unmoved, and intimated his determination not to quit

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Madras until every stipulation to which he had consented should be honourably performed. Violence having thus proved unavailing, Dupleix saw the necessity of changing his tactics, and while weaving new pretexts for delaying the actual restoration of Madras to the English, solemnly bound himself to carry it into effect as soon as certain preliminary arrangements were completed.

Amount of ransom settled.

During the heat of the quarrel between the two French governors, three ships of war, one of seventy-two, and two of forty guns, with 1366 men on board, arrived at Pondicherry. Added to the force which Labourdonnais already possessed, they gave him such an ascendency as placed all the other English settlements in India at his mercy. To all appearance nothing could now save Bombay and Calcutta from sharing the fate of Madras. This petty quarrel saved them. Labourdonnais, detained by it, lost his opportunity. The very day after the ransom had been fixed, by regular treaty, at eleven lacs of pagodas, nearly £440,000 sterling, the monsoon commenced with a furious hurricane, by which six ships of the French fleet lying in the Madras Roads were driven out to sea. One of them foundered; four of the others, including the seventy-gun ship, were completely dismasted, and otherwise seriously injured. In fact, the French marine force in the East was so completely crippled as to be afterwards incapable of achieving anything of consequence.

Labourdonnais quits India.

Labourdonnais, trusting to the promise of Dupleix faithfully to perform all the conditions of the capitulation, finally quitted Madras, committing the charge of it to a member of the council of Pondicherry. On arriving at this place, he left as many soldiers and sailors as, with those previously there, amounted to 3000 Europeans. His whole fleet now consisted of only seven ships, four of them in good and three in wretched condition. He sailed on the 20th of October, intending to proceed for Acheen with the whole; but, when at sea, changed his intention with regard to the three, on finding that even if capable of reaching that port they would be unserviceable, and steered with them directly for the Mauritius. He had quitted that island at the head of a powerful armament, with which he was confident of achieving glorious results. How mortifying must have been the contrast presented by his return! His misfortunes, however, were not yet ended. During his absence he had been superseded in his government, and nothing remained for him but to return to Europe shorn of all his honours. The voyage was singularly unfortunate. After passing the Cape of Good Hope, he narrowly escaped capture by British cruisers; and, having been obliged to part company with the other ships of the fleet, arrived in the West Indies. Here, as war was not yet declared between France and Holland, he took passage in a Dutch vessel which touched at Falmouth. The officials there, probably acting on information which had been given them, recognized him, and he was carried to London as a prisoner of war. The reception given him was equally honourable to himself and to those to whom he owed it. All classes vied in testifying respect and showing kindness, and when he expressed

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A.D. 1746.

a wish to return to France, he found, even among the directors of the Company on whom his skill and prowess had inflicted such heavy losses, a generous individual ready to become security for him to the whole amount of his fortune. The very idea of security, however, was scouted, and his parole was at once declared sufficient. The short period during which Labourdonnais was less the prisoner than the guest of England was the last during which fortune may be said to have smiled upon him. The moment he reached his native shore, her persecutions again commenced. He had performed services which entitled him to the highest honours his country could bestow. Instead of reward, only a dungeon awaited him, and he was immured in the Bastile on the 2d of March, 1748. Here he was left to pine away twenty-six months before he was permitted to communicate with the council, and though most of the charges made against him carried their refutation along with them, and the few which had any plausibility were proved to be groundless, three years elapsed before his acquittal was pronounced. What could it now avail him? The judicial murder had already been committed; and, after a short struggle with disease and poverty, death came to his relief. The injustice of which he had been the victim was afterwards formally though very inadequately recognized, by a pension to his widow, the grant bearing on the face of it that he had died "without receiving any reward for so many services, or any compensation for so many persecutions."

Fate of Labourdonnais.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings of the French at Madras—An attempt of the nabob upon it repulsed—The terms of capitulation shamefully violated—Unsuccessful attempts of the French upon Fort St. David—Proceedings of the English fleet under Admiral Boscawen—Siege of Pondicherry—The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

AT the time of Labourdonnais' departure, Dupleix stood pledged to the restoration of Madras in January, 1747. Meanwhile his duplicity had involved him in a serious difficulty. When only anticipating the capture of the town, he had neutralized the threatened opposition of Anwar-u-din, Nabob of Arcot, by promising to make him a present of it. This promise served its purpose at the time, and he had thought no more of it; but the nabob was not to be thus duped, and on finding that it was not to be voluntarily surrendered to him, sent his son, Maphuze Khan, at the head of an army of 10,000 men, to take it by force. Dupleix was, or from policy pretended to be afraid, and proposed negotiation. The effect only was to confirm Maphuze Khan in the belief that his arms were irresistible. Without listening to the two deputies who had been sent to

The Nabob of Arcot lays claim to Madras.

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treat with him, he imprisoned them, and proceeded to take up his position near the spot where Labourdonnais had erected his batteries. His subsequent operations displayed considerable skill. A shallow stream which ran along the west side of the town, and reached the sea about 700 yards below, was so dammed up at its mouth by a mound of sand as to form a kind of wet ditch. To get rid of this obstruction, he employed a great number of men to make an outlet for the water by cutting through the mound; and at the same time sent a strong party three miles to the north to take possession of the only spring from which the inhabitants were supplied with good water. Thus threatened, Dupleix opened his fire from the walls on the 21st of October. He had no idea, however, of submitting to the indignity of a siege, and therefore, on the following day, sent out a body of 400 men to act on the offensive. They had with them two field-pieces, which they had concealed, and with which, when the enemy advanced with an appearance of resolution, they opened a most destructive fire. The Moguls, who had never seen artillery so served before, were confounded, especially at the rapidity of the discharges, turned their backs, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The French had not lost a single man, and remained masters of the whole tents and baggage. Maphuze Khan seemed disposed, after collecting his scattered troops, to make a stand in the neighbourhood, but on learning that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, hastened off to St. Thomé, situated on the coast, about four miles to the south. In this town—which, known to the natives as Mailapur, owes its European name to a tradition of being the place where the apostle St. Thomas suffered martyrdom, and had attained great splendour under the Portuguese, though it had again sunk into comparative insignificance—Maphuze Khan occupied a position which, had he known to profit by it, would have cut off the communication between Pondicherry and Madras. This was obviously his intention, but he managed so ill as only to place himself between two fires, the reinforcement from the former advancing to attack him in front, while a detachment of 400 men from the latter attacked his rear. The detachment arrived so late that this part of the plan failed. The reinforcement, however, persisted in their original intention, and after forcing a passage across a stream, on the north side of which the enemy were advantageously posted, drove them back at the point of the bayonet, and following close upon their heels into the town, where both resistance and retreat were impossible, made fearful slaughter. Conspicuous among the fugitives, who escaped to the plain to the westward, was Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard was displayed. These encounters with the native troops established a new era in Indian warfare. The infinite superiority of European discipline was no longer doubtful; and from the valour displayed by some of the natives who had been exercised in it, and fought on the French side, the important fact was discovered that a native army might be formed, and so trained as to become the most effectual instrument of European

A.D. 1746.

The Nabob of Arcot repulsed from Madras.

Natives may be made efficient soldiers.

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A.D. 1746. domination. The first great exemplification of this fact, if not the discovery of it, is unquestionably due to Dupleix.

Capitulation of Madras violated.

While gaining these laurels, the governor of Pondicherry was meditating an act of gross iniquity. The law of nations, as well as solemn pledges given to Labourdonnais, bound him to restore Madras in return for a ransom which had been stipulated, and the amount of which had been fixed by regular agreement. In utter disregard of these obligations, he summoned a meeting of the inhabitants on the 30th of October, and there, while the garrison was drawn up in arms, caused a manifesto to be read, acquainting the English with the injustice which he had resolved to perpetrate, and of which they were forthwith to be made the victims. This infamous document annulled the treaty of ransom, confiscated all the property of the English, and offered them personally only the alternative of remaining on parole as prisoners of war till exchanged, or of being arrested and sent to Pondicherry. Several of them, to escape this disgraceful treatment, disguised themselves and found their way to Fort St. David; but the English governor and a number of the principal inhabitants were actually carried under escort to Pondicherry, and ostentatiously paraded before 50,000 spectators. In a similar spirit the threatened confiscation was executed with the utmost rigour, and many private families were utterly ruined.

Expedition against Fort St. David.

Fort St. David, the most important English settlement on the Coromandel coast after Madras, became, on the capture of the latter, the seat of the presidency. The fort, situated 100 miles south of Madras, and fourteen south of Pondicherry, was small but strong, and formed the nucleus of a considerable territory, including within it the important town of Cuddalore. This town, which lies about a mile south of the fort, at the mouth of the Pennar, was surrounded on three sides by a wall flanked with bastions, and, though nearly open to the sea, was separated from it by a narrow belt of sand thrown up by the waves, and skirted on the north and east by a shallow stream. The object of Dupleix being to banish the English entirely from the coast, his task seemed only half finished while Fort St. David remained in their possession. No time, therefore, was lost in fitting out an expedition against it. The command was intended for a Swiss of the name of Paradis, who was recalled for the purpose from Madras, where he had acted as governor under Dupleix, and been the willing instrument of his infamous proceedings. He left Madras in the beginning of December, with 300 Europeans, and had proceeded south about twenty miles, encumbered with ill-gotten booty, when Maphuze Khan, who was burning to revenge his disgrace, suddenly made his appearance at the head of 3000 horse and 2000 foot. Great as was the disproportion of numbers, Paradis kept the enemy at bay, and arrived at the Dutch settlement of Sadras, ten miles south of the place, where he was attacked with the loss of only twelve men, who were taken prisoners and paraded by Maphuze Khan as

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proof of his having obtained a victory. A reinforcement sent from Pondicherry enabled the whole to arrive there without further interruption. A.D. 1746.

Attempt on Cuddalore.

The force destined to act against Fort St. David consisted of 1700 men, mostly Europeans, with six field-pieces and as many mortars. Before it set out the officers refused to serve under Paradis, and compelled him by a kind of mutiny to resign the command to M. Bury, to whom it was considered to belong by right of seniority. At daybreak on the 9th of December, the Pennar, which falls into the sea about a mile and a half north of the fort, was reached and immediately crossed, with no show of opposition except from a few native soldiers, who fired under cover from the surrounding thickets. A greater resistance had been anticipated, as it was understood that the nabob had entered into close league with the English, and promised a large supply of troops. Assuming that he had not fulfilled, and in all probability was not disposed to fulfil his promise, the French resolved to leave the fort behind, and make a sudden dash at the town of Cuddalore. There seemed little risk, as the garrison of the fort mustered no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 *topasses*, or natives of Portuguese descent; and the whole force without it, for the defence of the territory, consisted of about 2000 *peons*, or native soldiers, not disciplined according to the example which the French had already set, and so imperfectly armed that scarcely 900 of them had muskets.

PEONS OF MYSORE.
From Viscount Valentia's Travels in India.

French repulsed.

A few of these peons had been stationed in a garden situated about a quarter of a mile from the place where the French had forded the river. It belonged to a summer residence of the governor of the fort, and was inclosed by a brick wall, which, together with the house and the court of buildings attached to it, might have furnished the means of a vigorous defence. The peons, however, were not capable of making it, and were no sooner attacked than they abandoned the post. The French troops, having now no apprehension of danger, began to refresh themselves from the fatigues of their march, and were sleeping, or cooking, or straggling about without their arms, when a sudden cry arose that an enemy was approaching from the westward. It proved to be a body of 6000 horse and 3000 foot belonging to the nabob, and led by his two sons, Maphuze Khan and Mahomed Ali. So great was the consternation of the French, that instead of attempting to profit by their position, they rushed out and made directly for the river, which, owing to the want of skill and courage on the part of their assailants, they crossed without sustaining any serious loss except that of their baggage. The garrison of the fort perceiving their flight

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A.D. 1747. sallied out, and, joining the nabob's troops, continued the pursuit for six miles. The enemy, brought to bay, faced about and offered battle; but it was not thought prudent to attack them, and they were permitted to return unmolested to Pondicherry.

Second attempt on Cuddalore.

Dupleix, grievously disappointed at the failure of his attempt, determined to renew it in a different form, and secretly despatched 500 men in boats, with instructions to proceed to Cuddalore, and take it by surprise, by entering the river, and landing on the east side, where it had no defences. He had underrated the difficulties. While the boats were passing through the surf, many of the soldiers could only save their lives by throwing aside their arms; and even after they had reached the river, were so overwhelmed by a hard gale from the south, that they thought themselves fortunate in being able to secure their own safety by putting back to sea. Again disappointed, Dupleix turned his arms in a different direction, and commenced a war of devastation within the nabob's territories adjoining Madras. Mere passion may have suggested this apparently wanton procedure, though subsequent events seem to prove that there was deep design in it. His knowledge of the native character made him perfectly aware that the nabob would dissolve his alliance with the British the moment he was convinced that it was not his interest to maintain it. This was the conviction to which Dupleix was now labouring to bring him. He had little difficulty in succeeding. After a short negotiation, the nabob consented to throw his weight into the French scale, recalled his army from Fort St. David, and sent Maphuze Khan to Pondicherry, where a most pompous reception was given to him, and the new alliance was formally proclaimed.

Retirement of the French.

It now seemed as if the situation of the British on the Coromandel coast was desperate. They had been abandoned by their only ally, and after looking in vain for assistance from home, had almost ceased to hope for it. Ever since the capture of Madras the only relief which had reached them was by a vessel from Ceylon, which, on the 19th of February, 1747, brought a supply of £60,000 in silver for the exhausted treasury, and twenty recruits for the garrison of Fort St. David. This relief, paltry though it was, could not have come more opportunely, for on the 2d of March the French were again seen approaching. They were the same troops as before, but the former failure had so far humbled the officers that they had been prevailed on to receive Paradis as their commander. On reaching the banks of the Pennar, they were somewhat surprised to find that the passage was to be contested. The garrison, as if a new spirit had been infused into it, had marched boldly out, and stood posted on the opposite bank, with three field-pieces and a troop of horse, composed chiefly of volunteers. A cannonade commenced, and was kept up with some spirit till the evening, when the French effected a passage at a point out of cannon-shot, and the garrison deemed it prudent to retire. By a singular coincidence the garden was again occupied, only to be precipitately abandoned. A number of ships were descried

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approaching the roads. The French only waited to satisfy themselves that they were English and hastened off for Pondicherry. A.D. 1748.

Arrival of a British squadron.

It proved to be the long looked for British squadron. It had remained inactive in Bengal, but had at length ventured out, under the command of Admiral Griffin, who had arrived from England with two ships, one of sixty and the other of forty guns. There was no enemy to encounter it; and partly by troops brought with it from Bengal, and partly by subsequent reinforcements from England and Bombay, Fort St. David was garrisoned so strongly as to be beyond the reach of danger. The aspect of affairs had now completely changed, and it was the turn of M. Dupleix to feel alarm. It soon appeared, however, that there was not much cause for it. Admiral Griffin seemed satisfied with his acknowledged supremacy at sea without attempting to derive any benefit from it; and the whole season for action passed away with no more important result than the destruction of a fifty-gun ship which had belonged to Labourdonnais' squadron, and was lying in the roads of Madras. On the approach of the October monsoon an attempt was made to remain on the coast, but it was found impossible, and all the ships were ultimately obliged to take shelter at Trincomalee.

MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER LAWRENCE.—From an engraving by Houston, after Sir J. Reynolds.

In the beginning of 1748 the squadron returned to Fort St. David, and at the same time Major Lawrence, a British officer of distinguished merit, arrived to take the command of all the Company's forces in India. For some months nothing of moment occurred. In consequence of a rumour that Dupleix was about to renew his designs on Cuddalore, Major Lawrence formed a camp between the garden already mentioned and the banks of the Pennar. Here he had remained for some time, when the alarming discovery was made, that though not yet disposed to risk a new campaign, the French governor had, with characteristic cunning and duplicity, been endeavouring to prepare for it by tampering with the fidelity of the native troops in British pay. The commander of a body of 400 sepoys sent from the English settlement at Tellicherry had promised to desert with them to the French in the first engagement that should happen; and within the fort itself, an Indian, who had acted as interpreter and agent to the English governor of Madras, was ascertained to have long carried on a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, by communicating with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. The interpreter and an accomplice suffered death, and the commander of the Tellicherry sepoys, together with ten of their other officers, were banished to St Helena.

Major Lawrence commander-in-chief in India.

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A.D. 1748.

Arrival of a French squadron.

A more honourable warfare than that to which Dupleix had thus stooped was now anticipated. A French squadron of seven large ships and two smaller vessels, which had sailed from the Mauritius in the end of April, were seen on the 10th of June sailing in the direction of Fort St. David. The English fleet in the roads consisted of three ships of sixty, three of fifty, three of forty, and one of twenty guns, and could scarcely have failed, if the enemy had been brought to action, to gain a victory. Unfortunately the admiral and several of his officers were on shore, and so much time elapsed before the ships put to sea, that the opportunity was lost. The French commander, aware of his inferiority, had never intended to fight, and had only assumed the appearance of it, the better to disguise his main object, which was to land 400 soldiers and £200,000 in silver at Pondicherry. Having succeeded in this, he at once quitted the coast, and left Admiral Griffin, after a vain attempt to discover him, to reap the fruits of what he called his bad fortune, but many designated by a harsher name. The latter was the view taken by a court-martial in England, and he was suspended from the service.

New attempt on Cuddalore repulsed.

The English fleet, while engaged in its fruitless search of the hostile squadron, had arrived at Madras. From the state of wind, some days must necessarily elapse before it could return to Fort St. David; and so bent was Dupleix on effecting the capture in which he had been so often baffled, that he determined to avail himself of the interval in making another attack on Cuddalore. The force employed consisted of 800 Europeans and 1000 sepoys, who, by pursuing a circuitous route from Pondicherry, arrived in the morning of the 7th of June at the hills of Bandapolam. Cuddalore was only three miles distant, and the plan was to halt till the night, and then come upon it by surprise. Major Lawrence, made aware of what was intended, determined to meet stratagem by stratagem, and caused all the cannon to be brought from Cuddalore into the fort. His object was to make the French believe that he had taken this step because he thought the place untenable, and meant to abandon it without a struggle. The stratagem succeeded; and the French, advancing under the full belief that they were about to make an easy conquest, had actually applied their scaling-ladders to the walls, when a fire of musketry from all the ramparts, and four or five pieces of cannon loaded with grape-shot, opened upon them. The cannon, openly removed by day, had been secretly replaced at nightfall, and the garrison had at the same time been reinforced. Of these facts the French were of course ignorant, and hence their consternation was extreme. The panic seized officers as well as men, and the whole rushed off in headlong flight.

Arrival of a powerful British armament.

The Indian struggle had hitherto attracted comparatively little notice in England; but at last both the government and the Company had awakened to a full sense of its importance, and resolved to make adequate preparations. A fleet consisting of seven ships of the navy, with a bomb-ship and tender, and

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eleven ships of the Company, carrying military stores and 1400 regular troops, sailed from England in November, under the command of Admiral Boscawen. At the Cape of Good Hope it was joined by six ships of the Dutch East India Company, having 400 soldiers on board, and after a considerable detention by contrary winds, proceeded for the Mauritius, which was seen on the 23d of June. It was expected that both this island and that of Bourbon would fall easy conquests, but the difficulties proved greater than had been anticipated; and after a series of attempts rendered futile by gross blunders, it was resolved by a council of war that, as the capture, even if practicable, was only a secondary object, the armament ought to proceed forthwith to the Coromandel coast, which was its primary destination. It arrived at Fort St. David on the 29th of July, and being joined by the squadron of Admiral Griffin, whose services had entitled him to nothing better than a court-martial, constituted the most powerful naval force which had ever been brought to the East Indies by any European nation. It consisted of thirty ships, thirteen of them ships of the line, and none of them of less than 500 tons burden. A.D. 1748.

The English at Fort St. David were elated above measure, and felt full of confidence that they were not only about to recover Madras but to avenge all the injustice they had suffered, by the capture of Pondicherry. They might well have this confidence, for they were scarcely less powerful by land than by sea, mustering in all, for service on shore, 3720 Europeans, 300 topasses, and about 2000 imperfectly disciplined sepoys. To these was to be added such a force as might be sent by the Nabob of Arcot, who, suspecting that fortune was again to change sides, had cast in his lot with the British. To strike at once at the centre of the French power and influence, Pondicherry was made the very first object of attack. The heavy cannon and cumbrous stores were transported in the ships, which anchored two miles south of the town, while the army continued its course along the shore. Preparation for the siege of Pondicherry.

The town of Pondicherry, situated eighty-six miles S.S.W. of Madras, occupied a gentle declivity at the south-east extremity of a long flat hill, and stretched, at the distance of about seventy yards from the shore, rather more than a mile from north to south, and nearly three-quarters of a mile inland. It was at this time one of the best built cities in India, and, when viewed from the sea, presented at once a pleasing and commanding appearance. For the latter it was indebted to several conspicuous public edifices, and more especially to a citadel, which, though of small dimensions, was of considerable strength. It stood within the town, and, along with it, was inclosed on the three sides toward the land by a ditch, and a wall and rampart flanked with bastions. The eastern side, facing the sea, was defended by several batteries, which were capable of mounting 100 cannons, and completely commanded the roadstead. At the distance of a mile from the walls, a large hedge of aloes and other thorny plants, intermingled with cocoa-nut and other palms, commenced on the Condition of Pondicherry.

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A.D. 1748. north at the sea-shore, and was carried round, for above five miles, in a regular curve, by the west and south, till it reached in the latter direction the river of Ariancoopan. This hedge, impenetrable to cavalry, and not easily to be passed even by infantry, formed, with the river, which fell into the sea a mile and a half below, a complete line of defence. So carefully had this object been attended to, that at each of the openings made in the hedge for the four roads which led from the town to the surrounding country, there was a redoubt mounted with cannon, and near the point where the hedge joined the river a small fort bearing the same name had been erected.

Owing to the time which had been lost on the outward voyage, partly by contrary winds and partly by the injudicious attempt on the Mauritius, the season was far advanced when the besiegers commenced operations. Every day, therefore, was of the utmost consequence, and not an hour ought to have been spent, except upon some object which would contribute essentially to a successful result. Unfortunately a very different principle of action was adopted, and the troops, instead of proceeding at once to Pondicherry, stopped short at the fort of Ariancoopan. From a very extraordinary neglect on the part of the authorities of Fort St. David, no means had been used, though the fleet had long been expected, to obtain such accurate information as would be needed when the siege should commence. Hence, when Ariancoopan was approached, no person could be found to give any accurate description of its works or its garrison. An engineer sent to reconnoitre, was afraid to go near enough to make the necessary observations, and represented it as a place of no strength, though covered by an entrenchment, while a deserter reported that it was defended only by 100 sepoys. This information was inaccurate, for the fort was a triangle, regularly fortified, and surrounded by a deep dry ditch, full of pitfalls, and the garrison consisted of 100 Europeans and 300 sepoys, under an active European officer. Admiral Boscawen, thus grossly misled, ordered an immediate assault. It was made with the greatest bravery, but with the most disastrous results. The storming party persisted, from mere shame, after they saw that success was impossible, and did not retire till 150 of their number were struck down by musketry and grape-shot, and Major Goodere, the most experienced officer of the king's troops, was mortally wounded.

Delay before Fort Ariancoopan.

This was an ominous commencement, but the next step taken was still more reprehensible. When it was seen that the fort possessed greater means of resistance than had been imagined, there was no necessity for remaining before it. A small detachment would have sufficed to watch it, and prevent any danger that could have arisen from its being left behind. All this was overlooked, and the siege of Pondicherry was postponed till this paltry place could be forced to yield. The French were too skilful not to profit by the egregious blunder, and by holding the fort as long as possible, gained the incalculable advantage of stopping the entire progress of the besiegers during eighteen days. Even at last

Time wasted.

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it was not so much taken as abandoned, in consequence of the accidental explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder. A.D. 1748.

Siege of Pondicherry commenced.

The besieging army moved from Ariancoopan on the 26th of August, and proceeded, after forcing the redoubt which guarded the opening in the hedge leading to the north-west, to prepare for commencing operations in that quarter, the engineers having selected it as the most eligible. To facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, the ships were moved to the north of the town. In sieges, the first parallel is usually made within 800 yards of the covered way, but so ignorant were the engineers of the commonest rules of their profession, that when they opened ground on the 30th of August, it was at the distance of 1500 yards. By slow and laborious steps, they kept creeping on till they reached the distance at which they ought to have begun, and then only made the astounding discovery that they had begun the siege from a wrong direction. Between their works and the town lay a morass, which, by means of a back water, had been flooded. What was now to be done? September was already far spent, and the rainy season would soon commence. To commence anew was impossible, and the only alternative which remained was to retire at once, or to persist in operations which held out little or no promise of success. The former part of the alternative was the wiser, but shame mingled with other considerations to prevent the adoption of it, and by great exertions, during which many lives were lost, two batteries of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, the one of eight and the other of four pieces of cannon, were constructed on the edge of the morass; these were followed by two bomb-batteries. The fire, which would have been crushing at a shorter distance, produced little effect, and was, moreover, returned double by the besiegers. A kind of diversion was attempted by the ships, which began to batter the town, but as those of two tiers could not come nearer than 1000 yards, their fire never told. According to the French account, the only person killed was an old Malabar woman passing along the street.

Blunders of besiegers.

Siege raised.

The final result was now only too apparent. No impression had been made on the defences, sickness prevailed in the camp, and the rainy season had commenced. The ships ran the risk of being driven off the coast, perhaps wrecked upon it; and the country would in all probability become so flooded, that the removal of the cannon and heavy stores, though still practicable, would soon be impossible. To persist would therefore have been madness, and the decision of a council of war was scarcely necessary to sanction the order which was issued to raise the siege. Five days were employed in the humiliating process, and on the 6th of October, the troops began their march back to Fort St. David. The mortality, by casualty or sickness, had been very great, particularly among the Europeans, of whom 1065 out of the original 3720, or very nearly a third of the whole, perished. The survivors, at least those of them who were responsible for the operations, had not the satisfaction of thinking that they had done

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A.D. 1748. their duty; for the whole siege, from first to last, exhibited nothing but a tissue of monstrous blunders.

Exultation of the French. The French garrison, originally 1800 Europeans and 3000 sepoys, lost only 200 of the former and about fifty of the latter, and were therefore well entitled to sing their *Te Deums*. Even Dupleix may be excused for the ostentatious vanity he displayed in sending bombastic letters to all the native princes, including the Mogul himself, intimating how gloriously he had triumphed. There cannot be a doubt that, by the issue of this siege, the reputation of the French for military prowess rose in India far above that of any other European nation, and that many years and signal victories were required to restore to the British the reputation which they had lost.

The British, notwithstanding the disgrace and loss which had befallen them, were still more powerful than their rivals, and might therefore hope for an early opportunity of regaining their laurels. Pondicherry was beyond their reach, but Madras remained to be recovered. That this would be the next object attempted, was in itself sufficiently probable. Though captured fairly by Labourdonnais, the retention of it was a gross fraud. Of this Dupleix himself could not but be conscious, and hence it is easy to understand how unwilling he was, after incurring infamy in order to obtain the possession of it, to incur the risk of having it again wrested from him. His anxiety to retain thus equalling the eagerness of the original possessors to recover, he exerted himself in strengthening its defences. At first, indeed, he acted as if he had resolved to raze it entirely to the ground, and commenced the work of destruction by laying the black town in ashes. Very inconsistently with this proceeding, he shortly after began to make improvements on the white town, and had rendered it much more capable than before of standing a siege, when he had the mortification to learn that all his labour was in vain, as Madras was about to return unransomed and improved to its former possessors. Hostilities between Great Britain and France had been terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and possession was to be restored as nearly as might be to the state in which it was at the commencement of the war. It would be difficult, and is not necessary, to decide how far the interests of the two rival companies were beneficially or injuriously affected by the treaty of peace. In some respects both were gainers. The British recovered Madras; the French escaped from the disasters which were evidently impending over them, in consequence of the maritime supremacy which their rivals had established.

Madras restored.

Peace of Aix la-Chapelle.

Warlike tendencies of the French and English companies. Now that the sword had been sheathed, and there was neither necessity nor pretext for keeping up powerful and expensive armaments, the natural course for all parties would have been to abandon all schemes of territorial aggrandisement, and confine themselves, in accordance with their original profession, to the peaceful pursuits of commerce. On the other hand, there were strong temptations to deviate from this course. The Mogul empire was only the

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shadow of what it had once been; in all quarters chiefs who had formerly been subordinate were aspiring to independence, and, to all appearance, a general scramble for territory was about to ensue. Under such circumstances, why should the two most powerful nations of Europe consent to have their hands tied up, and to remain inactive spectators of a struggle in which their interests, perhaps their very existence was involved? Why should they not become, if not principals, at least auxiliaries, and give—or, not to mince the matter—sell their skill and prowess to the party able and willing to pay for them most liberally? Such thoughts had long been familiar to Dupleix, whose imagination was warmed, and ambition inflamed, while he contemplated the possibility of associating his name with the establishment of a French Indian empire. The superiority of the forces which he could bring into the field could no longer be called in question. With a mere handful of men he had already put armies to flight. Haughty chiefs, who formerly despised him, had crouchingly courted his alliance, and he had only to temper force with policy, in order to compel or persuade them to acknowledge him as their master. In the English Company no individual had yet appeared in a position which permitted him to entertain, or pointed him out to others as destined to realize similar views; but there can be no doubt that, both at home and abroad, territorial aggrandisement in India was by many contemplated as practicable, and longed for as most desirable. The question of aggrandisement being thus virtually decided in the affirmative, both by France and England, the contest for Indian supremacy did not cease, but only changed its form, in consequence of the peace; and the troops of the two nations, no longer permitted to turn their arms directly against each other, had recourse to the expedient of doing it indirectly, by taking opposite sides in native quarrels. To show in what manner, to what extent, and with what results this was done, it will now be necessary to give some account of that portion of Southern India where this species of armed neutrality between the British and French was first exhibited.

A.D. 1748.

Contest between the French and British in India continued.

CHAPTER IV.

The Carnatic—Its political state—Transactions in Tanjore – Early career of Clive—Siege of Trichinopoly.

THE Carnatic, anciently called Canara, properly denotes the tract of country where the Canara language is spoken, but has long since lost its original application, and has two principal meanings, one more extensive, and the other more limited; the former, including under it nearly the whole of the south-eastern portion of the Indian peninsula, from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, and the

Boundaries and physical features of the Carnatic.

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A.D. 1732. latter adopting the same northern limit, but not descending further south than the country immediately north of the Coleroon, and at the same time so confining it on the west as not to leave it an average breadth of more than seventy-five miles. In this latter sense the Carnatic is nearly identical with the territory which, under the Mogul empire, formed one of the principal provinces of the *soubah* or government of the Deccan, and was administered by the soubahdar's nabob or deputy, under the title of the Nabob of Arcot, the whole nabobship taking its name from Arcot, the capital. The country thus defined consists of two portions, differing greatly in their physical features, and distinguished from each other by the names of *Balaghaut* and *Payeenghaut*, or the land *above* and the land *beneath* the mountain passes. The Balaghaut, covered by a portion of the Eastern Ghauts, is elevated, and forms a kind of table-land, not so much traversed by continuous ridges as broken up by isolated hills and mountains, rising in precipitous masses, and not unfrequently separated from each other by deep ravines. The Payeenghaut, on the contrary, is a maritime flat, little elevated above sea level, and traversed by the beds of numerous streams, generally dry during the hot, but filled to overflowing during the rainy season. Immediately south of the nabobship of Arcot, and separated from it by a boundary not well defined, were the two rajahships or Hindoo states of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, which, though governed by their own princes, were so far dependent on the Nabob of Arcot, who levied tribute from them, not indeed in his own name, but as the deputy of the Mogul.

The Ghauts.

The Nabob of Arcot—Sadatulla.

The nabobship of Arcot was held from 1710 to 1732 by an able and popular chief, of the name of Sadatulla, or, more properly, Saadut Oolla Khan. The office was not recognized as hereditary. It was held by commission from Delhi, but in the event of the Mogul not exercising, or delaying to exercise the right of nomination, a temporary appointment was made by the Soubahdar of the Deccan. Such was the regular mode of procedure when the Mogul empire was in vigour; but in the state of decay into which it had fallen, the imperial commission was regarded as only a form, and the right of appointment was tacitly, if not overtly contested between the soubahdar and the nabob, the one claiming it as his prerogative, and the other striving to render it hereditary in his family. Saadut Oolla having no issue, had adopted the two sons of his brother, and left a will by which he destined the nabobship to Doast Ali, the elder, and the subordinate government of Vellore to Boker Ali, the younger. By the same deed he conferred the office of *dewan* or prime minister on Gholam Hussein, the nephew of his favourite wife. Nizam-ul-Moolk, who, as has been already seen, regarded himself as independent sovereign of the Deccan, not having been consulted in these appointments, regarded them as encroachments on his authority, but, owing to other political entanglements at the time, was not in a position to give effect to his resentment.

Doast Ali, at the time of his succession, had two sons, of whom the elder,

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Sufder Ali, was arrived at man's estate, and several daughters, one of whom was married to Murteza Khan, or Mortiz Ali, his brother's son, and another to a distant relation of the name of Chunda Sahib, whose daughter by a former marriage was the wife of the above Gholam Hussein, Doast Ali's dewan. Chunda Sahib, thus son-in-law to the nabob and father-in-law to his minister, naturally possessed great influence at court. His ambition tempted, and his talents enabled him to make the most of it. Ere long, under a pretext of assisting his father-in-law in administering the office of dewan, he had managed to supplant him. Not satisfied with the civil power thus placed entirely in his hands, he aspired to military power also, and obtained it by ingratiating himself with the soldiers.

A.D. 1732.

Doast Ali.

The Rajah of Trichinopoly had died, like Saadut Oolla, in 1732, and, like him, also without issue. He had destined the succession to his first wife, but it was claimed by a collateral male heir, who, by the support of the commander-in-chief, pushed the ranee, or queen, to the desperate step of soliciting the aid of the Nabob of Arcot. It was readily granted; and an army entered the rajahship, ostensibly for the purpose of collecting the accustomed tribute, but with a secret understanding that it was to support the queen. It was commanded by Sufder Ali and Chunda Sahib, and gradually approached the capital, where the queen still held possession, but by a tenure so precarious, that the admission of a portion of the nabob's troops was deemed necessary to her safety. She was well aware of the danger which she thus incurred, and took what she conceived to be an effectual security against it, by requiring Chunda Sahib, who conducted the negotiation, to take an oath on the Koran, that the admitted troops should be employed solely to re-establish her authority, and then be withdrawn. He took the oath, but having no intention to keep it, took it only on a *brick* wrapped up in the usual splendid covering of the Koran, and no sooner gained possession than he made the ranee prisoner, and hoisted the Mahometan flag. Measures had been so effectually taken, not only in the fortress of Trichinopoly, but at various other stations, that the whole country submitted without resistance to this abominable treachery.

The Rajah of Trichinopoly.

Sufder Ali returned home, leaving Chunda Sahib as governor. The office of dewan of Arcot having thus become vacant, was conferred on Meer Assud, Sufder Ali's preceptor, who, well aware of Chunda Sahib's ambitious character, quickly perceived the serious blunder which had been committed in making him ruler of Trichinopoly. It was more than probable that he would be tempted to revolt, and then the tribute withheld would be the least part of the loss, as the independence of the nabobship itself would be endangered. These representations had their full effect on Sufder Ali, but were lost on his father, Doast Ali, who, besides being of an indolent temper, was disposed to judge Chunda Sahib more favourably, and refused to sanction any proceedings against him. The fact, however, that such proceedings had been urged, was not lost on

Treachery of Chunda Sahib.

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A.D. 1732.

Chunda Sahib, who immediately took measures for his protection, by putting Trichinopoly in a complete state of defence, and intrusting tried friends with his other most important stations.

Mahrattas brought into the Carnatic

Sufder Ali and Meer Assud, unable to obtain the nabob's concurrence in their designs against Chunda Sahib, determined to pursue them without his knowledge, and entered into a negotiation with the Mahrattas. The plan was, that the Mahrattas, under the pretext of levying the chout which the nabob had withheld, should invade his territories, and then, when Chunda Sahib came to his relief, as it was anticipated he would, suddenly unite their forces with Sufder Ali, and make a dash at Trichinopoly. By this intricate and tortuous policy, they overshot the mark. Doast Ali, knowing nothing of underhand arrangements with the Mahrattas, saw only that his territories were attacked, and, with more spirit than might have been expected from his age and habits, took post with a handful of men in a pass which was supposed, though erroneously, to be the only one through which the invaders could descend into the low country. He was here encountered, defeated, and slain. Sufder Ali, who had misgivings as to the course which the Mahrattas might pursue, retired, on hearing his father's fate, to Vellore, while Chunda Sahib, who had been advancing into Arcot with an auxiliary force, hastened back to secure his own interests at Trichinopoly.

Their league with Sufder Ali, Nabob of Arcot.

The Mahrattas, aware of the advantage which they had gained, thought no more of their engagements with Sufder Ali, and, as a means of forcing him to any terms which they were pleased to dictate, commenced their usual system of plunder and devastation. Sufder, anxious above all things to be immediately confirmed in the succession which had opened to him by his father's death, complied with all their demands, and purchased their departure by agreeing to pay them, by instalments, 10,000,000 rupees, equivalent to £1,000,000 sterling. This was the only part of the treaty made public, but there was another article, kept secret for very obvious reasons, which handed over Chunda Sahib to their mercy, and left them free to appropriate as much of his territory as they could conquer at their own expense.

Siege and capture of Trichinopoly.

On the first news of the invasion of the Mahrattas, the late nabob, as well as Sufder Ali and Chunda Sahib, sent their families and treasure to Pondicherry, which they justly regarded as far stronger and every way more secure than any native fortress. Chunda Sahib, moreover, laid in a large store of grain at Trichinopoly, which, if it could not be starved out, promised to withstand any effort which the Mahrattas could make to take it. The Mahrattas seemed to be of this opinion; for immediately on their treaty with Sufder Ali, they turned their faces northwards, and commenced their journey, as if determined to lose no time in regaining their homes. It was a mere stratagem. They had calculated that Chunda Sahib, as soon as convinced that they were really gone, would consider his stores of grain unnecessary, and turn them into

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money. It was so; and though they had proceeded 250 miles north-west of Trichinopoly, they made sure of their prize by hastening back, and completely blockading the fortress. Famine made defence impossible; and after a siege of three months, it was compelled to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of March, 1741. The Mahrattas left 14,000 men, under Morari Row, to guard their conquest, and carried off Chunda Sahib, whom they confined in a strong fort in the vicinity of Sattarah. A.D. 1743.

Sufder Ali, when relieved from the alarm which Chunda Sahib had given, saw himself threatened by a still more formidable enemy. Nizam-ul-Moolk had returned to the Deccan, and had given him to understand that, as an indispensable condition to his being confirmed as nabob, he must pay up all the arrears of tribute which had accrued since the death of Saadut Oolla. His first step, on receiving this intimation, was to remove his family and treasures to Madras. He had formerly lodged them in Pondicherry, but circumstances had transpired to convince him that an understanding existed between Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, and that as his interest was decidedly opposite to that of the former, his true safety lay in courting an alliance with the only nation which seemed capable to counteract the designs of the latter. Chunda Sahib's connection with Pondicherry.

Sufder Ali, after he had secured his treasures in Madras, endeavoured to propitiate Nizam-ul-Moolk by pleading poverty. The Mahrattas had impoverished the country, both by pillage and the immense contribution which they had exacted; and his finances were in consequence so depressed, that he had serious thoughts of retiring from the world altogether, and spending the remainder of his days at Mecca. It is not likely that Nizam-ul-Moolk would have allowed himself to be defeated of his purpose by such pretences, but Sufder Ali was not destined to feel the effects of his resentment, for he perished shortly after by the hands of an assassin. The crime was generally believed to have been instigated by Mortiz Ali, who immediately caused himself to be proclaimed nabob; but, unable to stand the storm of indignation which his atrocious conduct raised, was obliged to save himself by flight. Mahomed Saaed, an infant son of Sufder Ali, was immediately brought forward by the army, and, contrary to expectation, was confirmed as his father's successor, by Nizam-ul-Moolk, who, at last, in 1743, made out his promised, or rather threatened visit to Arcot, by marching into it with an army of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. His presence was not unnecessary, for the country was rapidly verging towards anarchy. Every petty chief was affecting independence; and on one day no fewer than eighteen individuals, bearing the title of nabob, presented themselves to do homage to Nizam-ul-Moolk, who gave vent to his surprise and indignation by declaring that he always imagined there was only one nabob in the Carnatic, and that he would whip any of his *chobdars*, or gold-sticks-in-waiting, who announced an individual under that title. Sufder Ali's connection with Madras. Nizam-ul-Moolk's arrival in the Deccan.

As Nizam-ul-Moolk was bent on founding a new dynasty in the Deccan, he

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A.D. 1744.

Nizam-ul-Moolk's arrangements in the Carnatic.

probably judged it good policy to give an exemplification of the hereditary principle in appointing to the nabobship, and was therefore easily induced to overlook any irregularities in the nomination of Mahomed Saaed. At the same time, he made little sacrifice, as he retained possession of the person of the infant nabob, and administered the government by one of his officers, Khojah Abdulla, as deputy. After this arrangement, he marched with his whole army to Trichinopoly to expel the Mahrattas, and succeeded, by presents and promises, without being obliged to strike a blow. Having thus settled matters to his satisfaction, he returned to Golconda. Khojah Abdulla, who had accompanied him, remained in command of the army till the spring of 1744, when he took formal leave, with the intention of resuming the government of Arcot. The very next day he was found dead in his bed, without visible marks, but certainly not without the suspicion of poison. Assuming that he was poisoned, public opinion agreed in fixing the crime on the person who profited most by it.

Anwar-u-din, Nabob of Arcot.

This was Anwar-u-din, who immediately stepped into the place which had belonged to Khojah Abdulla, and lost no time in setting out for Arcot. The young nabob, however, still stood in his way. It is almost needless to say that it was not long, and that another assassination, to which Anwar-u-din and the infamous Mortiz Ali were believed to be the instigators, made the nabobship once more vacant. Anwar-u-din was forthwith confirmed in the office, no longer as deputy but as principal. He was, however, most unpopular. The stain which was fixed on him as the supposed murderer or associate in the murder of Mahomed Saaed could not be wiped away by all his protestations; and the inhabitants of the nabobship could not be reconciled to one who, even if he could be supposed innocent of the murder, did in fact owe his government to the extinction of their favourite race of native princes.

His vacillating conduct.

It has already been seen how Anwar-u-din interfered in the hostilities between the British and the French, and passed from the one side to the other according as he imagined that his interest might be affected. Owing to his uncertain and vacillating conduct, Dupleix appears to have become satisfied that, as he could never be useful to him as an ally, the true policy would be to cripple him as an enemy, by giving him full employment at home. The most effectual means for this purpose were easily discovered. Chunda Sahib was still a prisoner with the Mahrattas, but had so many powerful connections in Arcot, that could he obtain his liberty, and be set up as a claimant for the nabobship, he would probably carry the national feeling along with him. In the event of his success, French interests might be greatly extended by express stipulations previously entered into for that purpose; and even in the event of his failure, more opportunities might occur of forming new and valuable connections with native powers. A scheme so much in accordance with the ambitious views which Dupleix had long entertained was not to be delayed, and he therefore began at once to give effect to it by employing some of the members of Chunda Sahib's

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family, still resident in Pondicherry, as the medium of communication. Chunda Sahib, as might be expected, gladly embraced a proposal which promised at the very outset to give him his freedom. The Mahrattas were equally inclined to come to terms. So long as Sufder Ali lived they had a special interest in detaining their prisoner, because if they allowed him to escape, the instalments to which they were entitled under their treaty would not be paid. Since his death the case had altered; for Anwar-u-din, thinking perhaps that he could set the Mahrattas at defiance, positively refused to fulfil the obligations undertaken by his predecessor. The Mahrattas, therefore, had no longer any interest in detaining Chunda Sahib, and readily struck the bargain by which Dupleix agreed to pay a very heavy ransom for him. The sum is said to have been 700,000 rupees (£70,000).

A.D. 1748.

Chunda Sahib ransomed by Dupleix.

Chunda Sahib, attended by his son Aabid Sahib, a few friends who had clung to him in misfortune, and a small Mahratta force, left Sattarah in the beginning of 1748, and proceeded south by slow steps, hoping to be able gradually to rally an army around him. On reaching the Kistna, the Rajahs of Chitteldroog and of Bednore, then at open war, applied to him for aid. He gave it to the former; and on the 24th of March a battle took place at Myaconda, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner, and his son was slain. He was carried in triumph to Bednore, but soon regained his liberty, and saw his fortunes suddenly assume a promising appearance at the moment when they seemed to have become desperate. On the very day when the battle of Myaconda was fought, Nizam-ul-Moolk died. Anwar-u-din thus lost his protector at the time when he stood most in need of him; and Chunda Sahib obtained powerful assistance from a quarter to which he had never looked for it. It will be necessary, however, before entering on the series of events occasioned by the death of the Nizam-ul-Moolk, to attend to a transaction which occurred about the same time, and in which the English East India Company became committed to a course of policy at variance with that which they had previously professed to pursue.

His proceedings on the Kistna.

Shortly after hostilities ceased between the British and French, a native prince of the name of Saujohee arrived at Fort St. David, and applied for aid to reinstate him on the throne of Tanjore. Seven years had elapsed since he had lost it, and yet, according to his own account, he was not only the lawful heir, but so powerfully supported that he had only to appear at the head of a small force in order to insure success. His application was certainly made at a favourable time. Peace had been suddenly proclaimed, when the British, ashamed of their discomfiture at Pondicherry, were earnestly longing for an opportunity of regaining their laurels. A large body of troops was assembled and ready for action; but, according to all appearance, from the mere want of an enemy to fight with, they would be obliged to return to Europe without having performed a single achievement. It is not wonderful that under such

The Company involved in the affairs of Tanjore.

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A.D. 1749. circumstances the application of Saujohee was welcomed by many. The motives which influenced them, however, were not such as the governor and council of the presidency could adopt, and their resolution to give assistance was placed on very different grounds. Besides endeavouring to secure the Company against loss by binding Saujohee if successful to bear the whole expense of the war, they also stipulated for the cession of the fort of Devicotta, advantageously situated at the mouths of the Coleroon, and of the district attached to it. On such low grounds, and for such selfish objects the Company were made to appear for the first time in the very questionable character of mere mercenaries, lending out their troops for hire, and sending them to spend their blood in a native quarrel with which they had no concern.

State of Tanjore.

The kingdom of Tanjore, in which this injudicious campaign was to be carried on, consisted of a tract extending from the Coleroon southwards along the coast about seventy, and inland about sixty miles. It had fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas in the time of Sevajee, and was appropriated by his brother, Venkajee, who died after a reign of six years, leaving three sons. It passed to all of them in succession in the order of their birth. But on the death of the last, as they had all left children, a number of rival claimants appeared, and a civil war ensued, during which three irregular successions took place within seven years. The whole power of the government had been usurped by Seid, the commander of the fort of Tanjore, who set up puppet kings at pleasure. In this way Saujohee, after wearing the crown for several years, had been set aside to make way for Pertaub Sing, his illegitimate brother. It is obvious from this account that the actual possessor of the throne of Tanjore at the time when Saujohee made his application at Fort St. David was an usurper; but this affords no justification of the conduct of the governor and council, who had no right to embroil the Company in a war for mercenary objects, and who had, moreover, on several occasions not only recognized him as sovereign, but courted his alliance.

Expedition to it under Captain Cope.

The force by which it was expected that Saujohee would recover the kingdom of Tanjore, consisted of 430 Europeans and 1000 sepoys, with four field-pieces and four small mortars. The troops, accompanied by Saujohee, and commanded by Captain Cope, set out in the end of March, 1749; the battering cannon and provisions proceeded by sea in four ships, two of them of the line. Much time appears to have been lost, for it was the 13th of April before the army encamped on the banks of the Valaru, near its mouth at Portonovo, though the distance from Fort St. David did not exceed twenty miles. Time, however, was not the most serious loss. The wrong season had been chosen. The change of monsoon from north to south took place on the very evening of their arrival, and was accompanied with a dreadful hurricane, which continued to rage till four o'clock next morning, and with such fury, that many of the draught bullocks and horses were killed, the tents of the camp were blown to rags, and all the military stores

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were much damaged. At sea the ravages of the storm were still greater. The *Pembroke*, a sixty-gun ship belonging to the expedition, was wrecked, only six of her crew escaping. It was in the same storm that the *Namur*, of seventy-four guns, on which Admiral Boscawen's flag was hoisted, and the finest ship of her size in the English navy, perished with 750 men. A.D. 1749.

After another delay, rendered necessary by a march to Portonovo to repair the damage which had been sustained, Captain Cope reached the northern branch of the Coleroon. Here he encamped and entrenched, because he was afraid to advance till better informed of the kind of reception that might be anticipated. It soon appeared that Saujohee's representations were not to be confirmed. No persons of rank declared for him, and not a single squadron joined his standard, while Pertaub Sing's troops were seen moving up and down on the opposite bank as if to dispute the passage. Captain Cope thought it imprudent to put them to the test, and remained where he was, till he was reinforced from Fort St. David with 100 Europeans and 500 sepoys. He now ventured to proceed, and discovered that he might safely have done it before, as scarcely any resistance was offered. Difficulties, however, soon multiplied upon him. The line of march was through a thick wood, which exposed them to a galling fire from parties of the enemy concealed in it, while the open plains were covered with large bodies of horse and foot moving on their flanks and rear. The position was really perilous, and seemed still more so because the English troops who had not before been brought face to face with an Indian army, naturally overrated the advantage which it derived from vast superiority of numbers. A general alarm was consequently felt, an alarm which might have grown to a fatal panic, had not the steadiness of the artillery kept the enemy at bay while a retreat to the river was effected. Here a council of war was deliberating whether to proceed or wait, when positive orders from Admiral Boscawen to advance on Devicotta at all events, left no alternative. Happily, a line of road, leading through a comparatively open country along the banks of the river to the sea-coast, was accidentally discovered by some of the soldiers. Pursuing it without much annoyance, the troops, after a march of ten miles, halted in the evening a mile east of the town. Dilatory proceedings.

The ships were anchored near the mouths of the river, not more than four miles from the camp, and yet so imperfectly were the means of intelligence provided, that they were not aware of each other's presence. The excuse afterwards given was that the intervening ground was low and covered with trees. What was now to be done? The battering cannon was on board the ships, and the troops had only three days' provisions. A sudden assault could not succeed, as the walls were too high to be escaladed; a proposal to advance the field-pieces by night, and gain an entrance by battering in the gates, was rejected, perhaps because it was too rational for Captain Cope to approve of it; and the childish resolution was adopted of trying to terrify the place into a surrender by Failure of the expedition.

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A.D. 1749. throwing shells into it. In two nights of this foolish work all the shells were expended, and nothing now remained but retreat. It was accomplished with much more difficulty and loss than the advance; and the troops, after a long and harassing march, returned to Fort St. David, with nothing better to detail than misfortunes and blunders.

New expedition. The presidency having undertaken the cause of Saujohee, had still two, and only two, honourable courses before them. The one was to persevere in his name; the other was to abandon the contest altogether. Declining both these courses, they devised a third, which, though it enabled them ultimately to gain their object, left a stain on their reputation. They made no scruple of abandoning Saujohee, but felt a stronger longing than ever for Devicotta. It was determined, therefore, to wrest it from its rightful owners, at all events, whether by force or fear. A new expedition was accordingly fitted out, and with much more prudence than before. It was commanded by Major Lawrence, the officer of highest reputation in India, and escaped the fatigue and dangers of a land march, by proceeding at once to the scene of action by sea. Six ships, three of them of the line, carried the Europeans, 800 in number, with the artillery and baggage; while 1500 sepoys accompanied them in large boats used by the natives for coasting. Having arrived and anchored in the mouth of the Coleroon, the troops and stores proceeded in boats up the arm leading to Devicotta, and were landed on the bank opposite to it. This position was chosen, both because the ground on the other side was marshy, and the Tanjore army lay encamped under the walls.

The siege of Devicotta. The fort, about a mile in circuit, formed an irregular hexagon, inclosed by a brick wall eighteen feet high, and flanked by square or circular towers. The attack was made on the eastern side by four twenty-four pounders, and in three days the breach was pronounced practicable. The great difficulty now was to cross the stream, which besides being dangerous from its rapidity, had woody banks, from which the enemy were prepared to defend the passage. It was ultimately effected by John Moor, a ship-carpenter, who not only contrived a raft capable of carrying 400 men, but swam the river during a very dark night with a rope, which was attached without being seen to the root of a large tree on the one side and to the raft on the other. By this contrivance the whole troops were transported, and soon succeeded in clearing the thickets. The enemy had not attempted to repair the breach, but learning from it the direction in which the final attempt would be made, endeavoured to counteract it by forming an entrenchment, which stretched from the banks of the river across this side of the fort. This entrenchment, though not finished when the troops crossed, presented a serious obstacle to further progress, the more especially that in front of it there was a deep and miry rivulet. The attack, however, was resolved upon; and Clive, who had finally quitted the civil for the military service, and attained the rank of lieutenant, volunteered to conduct it. His offer was accepted,

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and he advanced to the rivulet with a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and 700 sepoys. The Europeans and part of the sepoys having crossed without much difficulty, Clive hastened on to take the entrenchment in flank at that part where it remained unfinished. The Europeans kept close by him, but the sepoys who had passed remained at the rivulet, waiting till their companions from the other side should join them. Clive and his handful of Europeans thus left their rear completely exposed. The enemy at once saw their advantage; and a party of horse, who had stood concealed on the south side between the projections of the towers, rushed out and were within a few yards of the platoon, before they saw their danger, or could face about to meet it. In an instant, twenty-six of the party were cut down; only four escaped. Clive, reserved for greater things, was one of them. A horseman had lifted his sword to strike him, but he escaped the blow by stepping nimbly aside.

A.D. 1749.

Narrow escape of Clive.

On this disaster, Major Lawrence lost no time in advancing with all the Europeans in a compact body. The trench was easily carried, and the Tanjorines, after attempting in vain to repeat the manœuvre which had proved so fatal to Clive's little band, began to save themselves by flight. No resistance was offered at the breach, and the fort when entered was found completely evacuated. The real object of the expedition being now accomplished, the presidency had no longer any taste for Tanjorine warfare, and only kept up a show of hostilities till they should be able to secure their new conquest by regular treaty. It was not necessary to wait long, for the king, though naturally indignant at having been involved in hostilities with a foreign power which he had done nothing to provoke, had no inclination to continue them. On proposing terms of accommodation he was surprised and delighted to learn that the claims of a rival to his crown were not to be insisted on, and that if a pension of 4000 rupees was settled on Saujohee, for the sake of saving appearances, effectual steps would be taken to prevent him from giving any further trouble. In short, the presidency, instead of continuing to be his protectors, would condescend to act as his jailers. In return for their generosity in thus sacrificing him, all they asked for themselves was Devicotta, together with as much of the adjoining territory as would yield an annual revenue of 9000 pagodas (about £350), and also the expenses of the war! This last stipulation, all things considered, was utterly disgraceful to those who exacted it; but the king was not in a condition to resist, for events had just taken place in Arcot which made him aware that he might soon be engaged in a deadly struggle with still more formidable enemies.

Capture of Devicotta

As Clive was first brought prominently into notice during this Tanjore campaign, it will be proper in concluding it to prepare for the remarkable career on which he was now about to enter, by giving some details of his earlier life.

Early life of Clive.

Robert Clive, the eldest of a family of six sons and seven daughters, was born on the 29th of September, 1725, at the mansion of a small estate called

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A.D. 1749. Styche, situated in the parish of Moreton-Say, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. His father, Richard Clive, possessed the above estate, and added to the rather scanty income which he derived from it by practising as a lawyer; his mother was Rebecca, daughter of Nathaniel Gaskill, of Manchester. In this city he spent his childhood in the family of Mr. Bayley, who had married his mother's sister. According to this gentleman he was in his seventh year of a fierce and imperious temper, and "out of measure addicted" to fighting. From Manchester he was sent while yet very young to a school at Lostocke, in Cheshire, taught by Dr. Eaton, who is said to have predicted, that if "he lived to be a man, and opportunity enabled him to exert his talents, few names would be greater than his." From Lostocke he removed, at the age of eleven, to a school at Market-Drayton, where he took a lead among his schoolfellows for mischief and daring, and was one morning seen seated on a stone spout near the top of its lofty steeple. A few years later he attended the Merchant Tailors' School in London. His last school was at Hemel-Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, where he was in 1743, when he was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company.

Robert, Lord Clive.—From the picture by Dance, engraved in Malcolm's Life of Clive.

Clive's appointment as a writer.

His destination was Madras, which he reached late in 1744. The voyage was tedious, but he appears to have turned his time to good account, for during a nine months' detention of the ship at Brazil he made himself familiar with the Portuguese language. His letters, written to his friends at home shortly after he had entered on the duties of his office, display a kindly, thoughtful, manly spirit, and are so well expressed as to justify a doubt of the accuracy of the statement which has been made, that he idled away his time at school, and was in consequence very imperfectly educated. To one he says, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner; however, knowing it to be for my own welfare, I rest content

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and patient, wishing the views for which my father sent me here may, in all respects, be fully accomplished." To a cousin of his own age he opens his heart more fully, and writes as follows:—"I really think the advantages which accrue to us here are greatly overbalanced by the sacrifices we make of our constitutions. I have not been unacquainted with the fickleness of fortune, and may safely say, I have not enjoyed one happy day since I left my native country. I am not acquainted with any one family in the place, and have not assurance enough to introduce myself without being asked. If the state I am now in will admit of any happiness, it must be when I am writing to my friends. Letters surely were first invented for the comfort of such solitary wretches as myself." A.D. 1749.

These extracts have a tinge of the melancholy to which he was constitutionally subject, and which was doubtless aggravated not merely by the loneliness referred to in them, but also by an employment to which he appears from the very first to have had a decided aversion. As yet the character of the Company was almost entirely mercantile, and the writer spent his time very much as ordinary clerks do in large commercial establishments. While thus employed Clive's temper occasionally gave way, and the secretary under whom writers were placed on their first arrival was so offended at something he had said or done, that he complained of him to the governor. He was ordered to ask the secretary's pardon, and complied; but shortly after, when that gentleman with great kindness, wishing to bury the past in oblivion, invited him to dinner, he received the ungracious, surly, and half vindictive answer, "No, sir; the governor did not command me to dine with you." Other intemperate acts, hazarding the loss of his situation, are recorded; and he is even said to have made an attempt on his own life. The account given is, that an acquaintance calling upon him was asked to take up a pistol which was lying in the room, and fire it out of the window. On seeing that it went off, Clive, who was sitting in a very gloomy mood, started up, as if astonished, and exclaimed, "Well, I am reserved for something! That pistol I have twice snapped at my own head." The last act of his life makes this story not improbable, and yet it cannot be considered as perfectly authenticated. Clive's constitutional melancholy

If want of congenial employment was one of the main causes of this wild and reckless conduct, the remedy was at hand. Labourdonnais' attack on Madras in 1746 must, for the time at least, have converted every servant of the Company within it into a soldier. No record remains of the manner in which Clive comported himself, but it can scarcely be doubted that had defence been attempted he would have been found among the foremost. As it was, he only shared the fate of his fellows, and was still resident in the town as a prisoner of war, when Dupleix, by grossly violating the terms of capitulation, freed him from his parole, and left him at liberty to consult his convenience or safety in any way he pleased. On this occasion he was one of those who escaped, dis- His escape after the capture of Madras.

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A.D. 1749.

guised as natives, and succeeded in reaching Fort St. David. Here, shortly after his arrival, he became involved in a transaction which gave him more notoriety than fame. Two officers, who had won money at cards, were strongly suspected of having played unfairly, but most of the losers were terrified into payment. Clive, who was one of them, was not to be so bullied, and distinctly declared that he would not pay, simply because the money was not fairly won. The officer whom he thus accused challenged him. The parties met, it is said, without seconds. Clive having fired and missed; his antagonist came up, and holding the pistol to his head, told him to ask his life. He did so, and was then told that he must also retract his charge of unfair play. He refused, and when the pistol was again placed at his head exclaimed, "Fire, and be ——. I said you cheated; I say so still, and I will never pay you." The officer, in astonishment, threw away his pistol, saying that Clive was mad.

Clive obtains an ensign's commission.

It is probable that at Fort St. David Clive resumed his occupation as a writer, but it was only as a temporary expedient. He had found his true vocation, and in 1747 obtained an ensign's commission. The hopes already entertained of him appear from the letter of the court of directors of this year to the presidency of Madras. After alluding to the capture by Labourdonnais, they say, "Be sure to encourage Ensign Clive in his martial pursuits, according to his merit: any improvement he shall make therein shall be duly regarded by us." His first recorded service after he obtained his commission was at the mismanaged siege of Pondicherry, where he attracted much notice by activity and gallantry. Strange to say, rumour at this very time charged him with an act of cowardice. While posted at a battery the ammunition failed, and he ran off to bring it, instead of sending a sergeant or corporal. An officer maliciously insinuated that it was not zeal but fear that had made him run. Clive, the moment he was made aware of the insinuation, called upon the officer to disavow it, and on receiving only an unsatisfactory explanation challenged him. While they were on the way to the place of meeting, some irritating words passed, and he was struck by his opponent. Their swords were instantly drawn, but some persons present interfered and prevented them from fighting. Their conduct was made the subject of a court of inquiry, and as the falsehood and malignity of the insinuation were easily proved, the author of it was ordered to ask Clive's pardon in front of the battalion to which they both belonged. Here the matter ought to have rested, but as no notice had been taken of the blow, Clive insisted that satisfaction was still due. On its being refused, he waved his cane over the head of his antagonist and branded him as a coward. It would seem that he really was so; for he submitted to the disgrace, and next day resigned his commission.

His predominating qualities.

The details now given bring down the narrative of Clive's life to the date of the second Tanjore campaign, in which he has been seen volunteering to lead the assault on Devicotta, and making a hairbreadth escape with his life during

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the act of daring. The insight thus far obtained into his character disposes us to regard him as a man of a gloomy cast of mind, and a hot, irritable temper; jealous of his honour, and quick to resent an injury; bold even to foolhardiness, yet collected in the midst of danger; never losing his presence of mind, but always performing his part fearlessly, with indomitable energy and perseverance. As yet little opportunity has been given for the display of these qualities, but they will soon find a proper sphere, and make their possessor the hero of great events. A.D. 1749.

Succession to Nizam-ul-Moolk disputed.

In concluding the account of the Tanjore campaign, it was observed that the king's submission to the harsh and unjust terms imposed upon him was partly owing to the danger with which he was threatened from another quarter. The events in which this danger originated must now be explained. Nizam-ul-Moolk left six sons. At his death Ghazi-u-din, the eldest, was high in office at the court of Delhi, and easily obtained from the emperor, Ahmed Shah, a confirmation of his succession to the soubah of the Deccan. Other engagements, however, prevented him from attempting immediately to take possession, and rival claimants, taking advantage of his absence, began to contest the succession. On the one side, Nazir Jung, as the second son of Nizam-ul-Moolk, pretended to have become lawful heir by an alleged renunciation of his elder brother; on the other side, Hedayet Mohy-u-din Khan, afterwards known by his title of Muzzuffer Jung (Victorious in War), though only the son of Nizam-ul-Moolk's daughter, claimed in virtue of an alleged will, by which his grandfather, with whom he had always been a special favourite, had left him the soubah of the Deccan and the greatest part of his treasures. Nazir Jung had the start of his competitor, and gaining possession of the treasures, possessed the most effectual means of securing the favour of the army. Muzzuffer Jung's cause had in consequence become almost hopeless, when he was unexpectedly joined by Chunda Sahib, who, encouraged by promises of aid from Dupleix, was preparing to contest the right to the nabobship of Arcot with Anwar-u-din. The union between Muzzuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib was founded not only on mutual interests, but also on similarity of fortunes, inasmuch as they were both claiming on a female title.

Defeat and death of Anwar-u-din, Nabob of Arcot.

The combined forces, forming a respectable army, immediately advanced to the frontiers of the Carnatic, and were there joined by a powerful reinforcement from Pondicherry. It consisted of 400 Europeans and 2000 sepoys, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, who had been allowed by the blundering of the nabob to make their march across the low country without molestation. Seeing the aid given to his enemies by the French, Anwar-u-din's natural course would have been to strengthen himself by an alliance with the English; but whether he was so confident in his own might that he disdained to ask assistance, or the miserable expedition to Tanjore had made them averse, or left them too feeble to afford it, he advanced unaided to the encounter. His army consisted of

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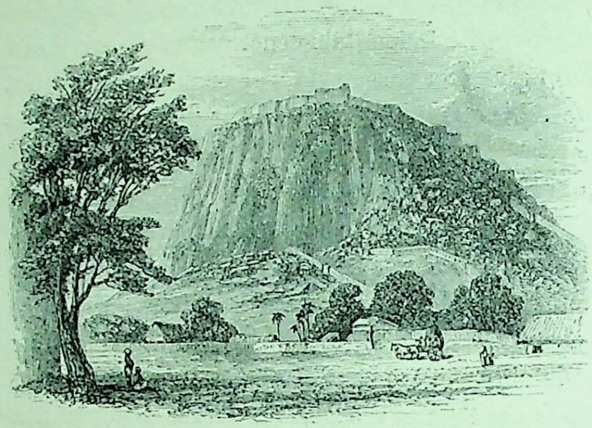
A.D. 1749. 12,000 cavalry and 8000 infantry, with which he took up a position with one flank resting on the hill-fort of Amboor, about fifty miles west of Arcot, and the other on a hill bounding one of the passes into the Carnatic. If he chose this spot under the idea that it commanded the only practicable entrance into his territories, he was mistaken; but the enemy, though probably aware of his blunder, did not attempt to profit by it. Their numbers doubled his, and they doubtless deemed it more creditable to force his position than to evade or turn it. The brunt of the action on their part fell on the French troops, who gallantly carried the position, after they had been twice repulsed. The contest was now hopeless, but Anwar-u-din continued it with great bravery till he was slain. His two sons, Maphuze Khan and Mahomed Ali, were both present. The former was taken prisoner; the latter fled and took refuge in Trichinopoly, nearly 250 miles distant from the scene of action. The victorious army proceeded at once for Arcot, and entered it without opposition. Muzzuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib immediately assumed the dignities which they had claimed; the one taking the title of soubahdar and the other of nabob. Much time which ought to have been employed in giving a finishing stroke to the war was consumed in childish ceremonials; but, as if this had not been enough, Dupleix thought it right that his own vanity also should be gratified, and the new soubahdar and nabob made a pompous entry into Pondicherry, where they spent some time vying with their entertainer in senseless extravagance. French interests at the same time were not forgotten, for Chunda Sahib made the company a grant in perpetual sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of their capital.



Hill-fort of Amboor.—From Gold's Oriental Drawings.

Death of Anwar-u-din.

Chunda Sahib's expedition to Tanjore.

The ceremonials over, Dupleix, fully alive to the danger of further delay, urged the departure of his guests, and laboured to impress them with the necessity of proceeding instantly against Trichinopoly. They expressed complete acquiescence in all his views, and set out as if determined forthwith to carry them into effect. No sooner, however, were they beyond the reach of his importunity, than they followed their own course. They did proceed with their army for the south, but suddenly changed the direction and turned from Trichinopoly to make a campaign in Tanjore. Their motive was to replenish the treasury, which was nearly exhausted. Tanjore seemed the far easier conquest of the two, and they had no doubt that, at the very worst, the king would gladly buy them

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off by a large contribution. Being thus undecided as to the character which they ought to assume, they acted in the irresolute manner usually exhibited in such circumstances, and allowed themselves to be entrapped into a negotiation which the king skilfully protracted till he knew that Nazir Jung had arrived in Arcot. This was a contingency which, though most probable in itself, had never once occupied their thoughts. Indeed, their first knowledge of it was obtained by a message from Dupleix. It had all the effect of a surprise, and they took the only course open to them, by retreating with precipitation towards Pondicherry. A.D. 1749.

While the French were taking a decided part in the great struggle which was to determine the future fortunes of the Deccan, the English knew not how to act. The presidency had, on their own responsibility, become parties to a war in Tanjore, but the result had disappointed them; and their interference now seemed to them not a precedent which they ought to follow, but a beacon which they ought to avoid. The success which had attended the French arms was as gall and wormwood to them; and they would fain have employed all their force on the opposite side, especially if they had felt sure that it was to prove the winning side. This, however, was very doubtful; and the result of intermeddling, therefore, might be to subject themselves to the displeasure, and ultimately call down the vengeance of the successful competitors for the soubah and nabobship. These, and similar considerations, might perhaps have justified them in resolving to remain as mere spectators of the contest, but certainly could not justify the very extraordinary course which they adopted. When Mahomed Ali, who had shut himself up in Trichinopoly and assumed the title of nabob, earnestly implored their assistance, they at first turned a deaf ear, and afterwards, as if in mockery rather than in earnest, sent him a paltry reinforcement of 120 Europeans. By this act they committed themselves as much as if they had sent him 1000. They had chosen their side and must maintain it; and yet, with monstrous and suicidal inconsistency, they at this very time declined Admiral Boscawen's offer to remain, and allowed him to depart with his fleet for Europe. So absurd did the proceeding appear to the French, that for some time they did not believe the departure to be more than a feint; but at length, when satisfied that it was a reality, could not refrain from openly manifesting their delight.

Strange policy of the Madras presidency.

After the British and French had taken their sides, both were naturally anxious to show that they had made the right choice, and given their support to those who had the best title. On this subject volumes were written, but to very little purpose, for two reasons: first, because, were it worth the while, it could easily be shown that the titles of all the claimants were absolutely bad; and, secondly, because it was mere hypocrisy on the part of the two companies to pretend that they were fighting for legitimacy, when it was well understood that the justice of the war was a matter of perfect indifference to them, and that their

British and French take opposite sides in native quarrels.

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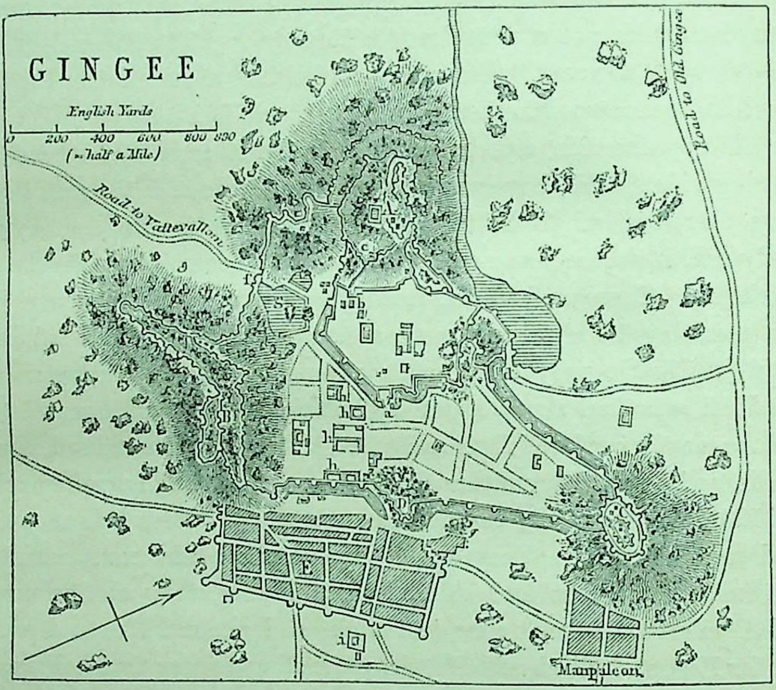
A.D. 1749.

true position was that of mercenaries, intent only on the gain which they stipulated, or might be able to extort, in return for their services. The most favourable view that can be taken of the matter is, that the regular course of government had been completely broken up, and that, in the general scramble which had ensued, the two companies were as well entitled as any other parties to make the most of it, more especially as it was not impossible that their important commercial interests might be compromised.

Nazir Jung at the head of an immense army.

When Muzzuffer Jung first took the field, Nazir Jung seems to have regarded it as little more than a youthful outbreak, which, if it did not carry its own punishment along with it, might at any time be easily suppressed. After the battle of Amboor he saw reason to view it in a very different light, and made his preparations accordingly. Appointing the celebrated fort of Gingee,



A, The Great Mountain of Gingee, on the top of which is a small fort situated on an entire rock, and tenable with ten men against any open force which may be brought against it. There is very fine water in a cleft of the rock.
B, St. George's Mountain. C, The English Mountain.
D, The royal battery. E, The pettah of Gingee.

a, Gate of the second wall }
b, Gate of the third wall } leading to the Great Mountain.
c, Gate of the fourth wall }
d, Gate leading to Ternamaley. e, Pondicherry gate.
f, Port-du-Diable, or Devil's gate. g, Devil's tank.
h h h h, Barracks and lodgings of the French garrison.
i, A pagoda for travelling Brahmins.

situated about thirty-five miles north-west of Pondicherry, as the general place of rendezvous, he issued summonses, in his character of Soubahdar of the Deccan, to all its various dependencies, and soon saw himself furnished with contingents from all quarters, to such an amount that his whole army was estimated at 300,000. Among these were a contingent of 6000 horse, furnished and commanded by Mahomed Ali, whose hopes of the nabobship

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were bound up with Nazir Jung's establishment as soubahdar; and a contingent of 600 Europeans, furnished by the Company and commanded by Major Lawrence. The presidency, having satisfied themselves that the man who could muster an army of 300,000 men must be the real soubahdar, had got rid of all their doubts and scruples on the subject of his title, and resolved magnanimously to share his fortunes. At the same time it was thought prudent to feel his pulse, and Major Lawrence, together with Captain Dalton, and a member of council who accompanied them, were commissioned to act as a trio, and treat with Nazir Jung on the interests of the Company. He received them with politeness, paid them oriental compliments, and was liberal in his promises. A.D. 1749.

Nazir Jung intimidates and obtains the submission of Muzzuffer Jung.

The French endeavoured to keep up the spirits of their allies, and along with them took up an excellent position, from which all the mighty host of Nazir Jung would have been unable to dislodge them. The only part of the force really formidable was the detachment under Major Lawrence. M. d'Auteuil endeavoured to bribe it into inactivity by sending a messenger to acquaint the major that, though their troops were arrayed on opposite sides, it was his wish that no European blood should be spilled. He therefore asked to know in what part of Nazir Jung's army the English took post, in order that none of his shot might come that way. Major Lawrence, estimating this communication at its true worth, replied that the English colours were carried on the flag-gun of their artillery, and that, though he too was anxious to spare European blood, he would certainly return any shot that might be sent him. M. d'Aûteuil, in proposing a kind of neutrality between the French and English, had not given the true reason. His men were in mutiny, and no fewer than thirteen of his officers had thrown up their commissions in presence of the enemy. This unworthy proceeding was adopted to avenge themselves on the governor, with whom they had had a bitter quarrel before leaving Pondicherry. The cause need not be inquired into, but the effect was important. M. d'Auteuil, convinced that his men would not fight, ordered them to quit the field and march home without delay. Muzzuffer Jung, who had previously begun to despair of his cause, and been attempting to come to an accommodation with his uncle, thought that not a moment was to be lost; and on receiving a solemn assurance that he would neither be imprisoned nor deprived of the government which he had held during his grandfather's lifetime, passed over to the enemy. The pledge given him was violated without scruple. He was immediately thrown into fetters, and his troops, attacked and dispersed, were almost cut to pieces. Chunda Sahib behaved with more spirit, and fared better. Accompanying the French at the head of his cavalry, he repeatedly charged the Mahrattas, who, led by Morari Row, hung upon their flank and rear, and well nigh succeeded in cutting off their retreat.

Dupleix has recourse to diplomacy.

The arrival of the troops in wretched plight threw Pondicherry into consternation. Dupleix, though he pretended to make light of it, saw the full extent

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A.D. 1750. of the disaster, and, as usual when force failed, had recourse to diplomacy. It was known that there was considerable disaffection in Nazir Jung's camp. Several chiefs, who had pledged themselves for the honourable treatment of Muzzuffer Jung, were indignant at his captivity, and still more at the evasive answers given to themselves when they applied to be confirmed in their governments. Dupleix, having obtained permission, after several rebuffs, to send an embassy to Nazir Jung's camp for the purpose of negotiating a peace, employed his deputies not only in ascertaining the extent of the defection, but in fomenting it. Their proposals were purposely so framed as to protract the negotiation, which, though it ostensibly failed, gained all that he sought by it. He had secured a party who, from belonging ostensibly to Nazir Jung's camp, would do better service than if they had been ranged under French banners.

Major Lawrence in vain warns Nazir Jung.

Major Lawrence, who had suspicions of the French deputies, endeavoured to put Nazir Jung on his guard, and obtained a personal interview for this purpose; but as he could only communicate by an interpreter, who feared to give the true meaning of his words, the warning was given in vain. The major then endeavoured, along with the deputies who accompanied him, to obtain a confirmation of a grant of territory near Madras, which Mahomed Ali, as nabob, had made to the Company in return for the services of their troops. After much prevarication compliance was promised, provided he would accompany the camp to Arcot, to which the soubahdar was eager to proceed, not for any stratigetical purpose, but to indulge his taste for licentious pleasures. Disgusted at all he saw, Major Lawrence refused; and after speaking his mind freely, returned with his troops to Fort St. David.

Successes of the French.

Leaving Nazir Jung to his degrading pleasures at Arcot, we must now follow the proceedings of the French, who, having recovered from their consternation, not only began to regain their lost ground, but were emboldened to make new conquests. In order to avenge an attack which had been made by Nazir Jung's orders on their factory at Masulipatam, situated at the mouths of the Kistna, a detachment of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, with several pieces of battering cannon, were embarked at Pondicherry, in two large ships, in the beginning of July, 1750, and landing in the night, took the city by surprise with almost no loss. It was immediately put in a position of defence, and reserved to become the nucleus of other conquests which were already meditated in the same quarter. Their next conquest, if not so important in itself, did more to redeem the credit of their arms. About fifteen miles east of Fort St. David stood the town of Trivadi, with a pagoda so strongly fortified as to serve as its citadel. It seemed to the French a desirable possession, both from its proximity to the British territory, and as a station which might be turned to good account in a southern campaign. It was taken without resistance, and garrisoned with only fifty Europeans and 100 sepoys. Mahomed Ali, to whom it previously belonged, justly inferring that the capture had been made

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not for itself but for ulterior objects, took alarm and resolved to make an effort to regain it. With this view he raised an army, half of it drawn from the soubahdar's camp at Arcot, and by engaging to defray all expenses, induced Major Lawrence, who was acting at Fort St. David as temporary governor, to send him a detachment of 400 Europeans and 1500 sepoys. His whole force mustered 20,000 men, with whom, after encamping for a short time in the plain of Trivandiparam, a little west of Fort St. David, from which he was to receive two 24-pounders and military stores, he marched along the south bank of the Pennar, and found the French posted on the opposite bank, about eight miles east of Trivadi. The French were entrenched; and Mahomed Ali, though strongly urged by Captain Cope, who commanded the British detachment, to take up a position which would force an engagement, was too cowardly to comply, and contented himself with skirmishes and a distant cannonade. After some time wasted in this way, Mahomed Ali proposed marching off to the west, but Captain Cope refused to accompany him; and on being refused payment of the expenses which had been promised, was ordered by Major Lawrence to return with his troops to Fort St. David. They arrived there on the 15th of August, and the French lost not a moment in taking advantage of their absence. Mustering a force which amounted in all to 1800 Europeans, 2500 sepoys, and 1000 horse, levied by Chunda Sahib, they brought the enemy to action, and gained a complete victory without the loss of a single man. Mahomed Ali escaped with difficulty, and reached Arcot with only two or three attendants.

A.D. 1750.

Mahomed Ali's cowardice.

Notwithstanding the consternation produced by this defeat, Nazir Jung still remained inactive; and the French, left at full liberty to pursue their victorious career, were emboldened to attack Gingee. This celebrated fortress, in which we have already seen the Mahrattas resisting, for many years, the whole power of the Mogul empire under Aurungzebe, is situated among the Eastern Ghauts, about thirty-five miles north-west of Pondicherry, and eighty-five miles south-west of Madras. It consisted of three steep and craggy hills, with an intervening hollow, the whole surrounded by a lofty wall flanked with towers, and inclosing an area nearly three miles in circuit. The town lay in the hollow, and the hills were both crowned on their summits, and along their declivities, with forts and other works, rendering the whole place so strong, at least according to Indian ideas, as to be deemed impregnable. How little it was really so was soon made apparent. The main body of the French army was commanded by M. d'Auteuil, but was preceded by a detachment of 250 Europeans and 1200 sepoys, with four field-pieces, under M. Bussy, who was rapidly establishing the reputation which he ultimately acquired of being the ablest French officer in India. His object probably was to take the place by surprise; but on coming in sight of it he found 5000 of the fugitives from Trivadi encamped under the walls. He waited, therefore, till the main body came in sight, and then attacking, drove off the enemy with little difficulty. One of the gates of the outer

Bussy captures the fort of Gingee.

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A.D. 1750.

wall was next driven open by a petard, and the whole of the troops, artillery, and baggage were lodged in the town before night, with the loss of only three or four men. The real contest now began: the enemy firing and throwing rockets from their mountain heights, while the French answered them from their guns and mortars. The mischief done in this way by either side was not great, and preparations were made for an assault. This honour was reserved solely for the Europeans, who attacked the three hills at once in separate parties, carried redoubt after redoubt, reached the summits, and had their flags flying triumphantly on them all by daybreak, with the loss of only twenty men.

Nazir Jung aroused too late from his stupor

If the French were astonished at thus easily capturing what was justly considered the strongest fortress of the Carnatic, it is easy to conceive what dismay the first intelligence of the event produced in the camp at Arcot. Nazir Jung was at last aroused from his disgraceful stupor. In the excess of his confidence he had allowed many of the chiefs to return home with their contingents, and sent back the greater part of his own troops to Golconda. Besides recalling these, he gave a striking proof of his fear by sending two officers to Pondicherry to negotiate. It was now the turn of Dupleix to be imperious, and he set no limits to the extravagance of his terms. He well knew that they would be rejected, and had proposed them with this very view, for the party which he had secured in the enemy's camp had organized a conspiracy, and Nazir Jung's life was hanging by a thread. Totally unconscious of the danger impending over him, he ceased negotiating, and began his march towards Gingee late in September, 1750. Though many of the troops absent on leave had failed to return, his force still consisted of 60,000 foot, 45,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon. Including camp followers, the whole army was little short of 300,000. This vast and unwieldy body moved so slowly that fifteen days were spent in marching thirty miles. It was still sixteen miles from Gingee when its further progress was arrested by the sudden setting in of the rains. Retreat was now the only prudent course, but it was considered disgraceful, and after the lapse of two or three days became impossible. The whole country was flooded, and the camp lay inclosed between two swollen rivers. Provisions began to fail, sickness as usual followed, and the prospect was gloomy in the extreme. Nazir Jung, now as anxious to quit the Carnatic as he had been fond of remaining in it, again made overtures of peace, and expressed a willingness to submit to the terms which lately he would not even entertain. Dupleix was not unwilling to have two strings to his bow, and began to negotiate without losing sight of his conspirators. At the same time he found himself in a kind of dilemma. If he made the treaty he must abandon the conspiracy, and, in all probability, sacrifice all the chiefs whom he had tempted to join in it; if he remained true to them they would do their bloody deed, and the treaty would be useless. Ultimately it was a mere toss which of the two methods of settlement would be adopted; for at the very time he was pressing Nazir Jung's deputies to send

Is anxious to quit the Carnatic.

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back the treaty ratified, he sent orders to M. de la Touche, who commanded at Gingee, to march out to attack the camp whenever the conspirators should intimate to him that they were ready. This intimation reached Gingee before the ratified treaty was returned to Pondicherry, and Nazir Jung's fate was sealed. The French force, consisting of 800 Europeans, 3000 sepoys, and ten field-pieces, arrived within sight of the enemy's camp. It extended eighteen miles, as every chief had a separate quarter. Where the space occupied was so enormous, the French, left to themselves, would have been at a loss to choose their point of attack; but the conspirators had provided for this by sending a guide, who conducted them to the locality immediately occupied by Nazir Jung. He had ratified the treaty only the day before, and would not at first believe that the French had attacked him. When convinced of the fact, and asking how the battle went, he was astonished to learn that a large portion of his army remained motionless as mere spectators. Enraged, he mounted his elephant and hastened off in the direction where they stood. The first troops he came up to were those of Kurpa, and Nazir Jung thinking, as it was not yet clear daylight, that the nabob who was at their head on his elephant did not recognize him, raised himself up to receive his salutation, when two shots, fired from the nabob's howdah, pierced his heart, and he instantly expired.

A.D. 1750.

Death of Nazir Jung.

ELEPHANT WITH HOWDAH.—Major Luard's Views in India.

Muzzuffer Jung was immediately proclaimed as soubahdar, and, accompanied by a large portion of the army which had just belonged to his murdered predecessor, set out in triumph for Pondicherry. The governor and Chunda Sahib received him in a tent without the gates, and a procession took place in which none of the usual accompaniments of oriental ostentation were wanting. No sooner was he seated in the palace than the new soubahdar, opening his heart to Dupleix, made him aware that, along with the honours, he had already began to experience some of the perplexities of sovereignty. The Patan chiefs, to whose treachery he was mainly indebted for his elevation, were determined that he should pay for it liberally. How to satisfy them was the puzzle. Their demand was that three years' arrears of tribute, which they owed, should be remitted; that in future no tribute should be exacted from them, either for the territories which they possessed, or the large additions which they thought

Muzzuffer Jung proclaimed soubahdar by the French.

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A.D. 1751. themselves entitled to expect; and that one-half of the contents of Nazir Jung's treasury should be distributed among them.

Muzzuffer Jung confers extensive powers on Dupleix.

Dupleix undertook the office of mediator, and, after several days spent in discussion, concluded an arrangement, which was signed by all the parties, and with which all of them declared themselves perfectly satisfied. Business was naturally succeeded by festivities, and Pondicherry assumed the appearance of a gay and luxurious capital. The most gorgeous of the ceremonies was the installation of Muzzuffer Jung as soubahdar. His first act, after it was completed, was to declare Dupleix governor for the Mogul of all the countries south of the Kistna. All the revenues due to the Mogul from these countries were, in the first instance, to pass through his hand; and no coin but what was coined at Pondicherry was to be current in the Carnatic. From the terms used it is difficult to say whether it was meant that the soubahdar or Dupleix should in future take precedence; but in the appointment of Chunda Sahib to the nabobship of Arcot and its dependencies, it was expressly stated that he was to hold it under Dupleix, as his superior. To the French East India Company the immediate advantages were the acquisition of tracts of territory near Pondicherry, Carrical in Tanjore, and Masulipatam, producing a revenue estimated by themselves at £38,000, but probably not less than £50,000; the indirect advantages were unlimited, inasmuch as, under the titles and powers conferred on their governor, they could make them anything they pleased. The treasure taken from Nazir Jung was estimated at £2,000,000 sterling, exclusive of the jewels, worth at least £500,000. Of the treasure, one-half belonged to the Patans, under the agreement; the other half, and the jewels, were appropriated by the soubahdar, subject, however, to a deduction of £50,000 paid to the company, as the expenses of the war, £50,000 to the officers and troops which gained the battle of Gingee, and a present to Dupleix, consisting, besides many precious jewels, of money fixed at the conjectural amount of £200,000.

Is slain.

Muzzuffer Jung left Pondicherry for Golconda on the 4th of January, 1751, accompanied by his own troops, and also a French detachment, commanded by M. Bussy, and consisting of 300 Europeans and 2000 sepoys. On reaching the territory of Kurpa, a quarrel ensued between some of the inhabitants and the soldiers, and three villages were set on fire. The nabob, professing great indignation at the injury done to his subjects, retaliated by attacking that part of Muzzuffer Jung's division where the women were placed. According to oriental ideas, there could not be a grosser insult; and he was vowing to take summary vengeance when M. Bussy interposed, and procured the nabob an opportunity of explaining. He did so, but in such terms as only to aggravate the insult. It now appeared that the whole affair was concerted. The Patan chiefs had never been satisfied with the arrangement at Pondicherry, and had been on the watch for a favourable opportunity to give effect to their resentment. The army was about to pass to a defile, and found it pre-occupied by the Patans, who

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had even planted the posts leading to it with cannon, which had been brought forward several days before. A battle ensued, which was decided by the fire of the French artillery, but the victory cost Muzzuffer Jung his life. In pursuing the fugitives he came up with the Nabob of Kurnool, who, finding escape impossible, turned at bay with a handful of troops. Both instantly prepared for a personal encounter, and drove their elephants right in the face of each other. Muzzuffer Jung had his sword uplifted to strike, but the nabob anticipated him, and drove the point of his javelin through his forehead, into his brain. A.D. 1751.

The French were returning with the acclamations of victory when they learned, to their dismay, that they had sustained a worse loss than defeat. M. Bussy did the best that could be done in the circumstances, by urging the immediate appointment of a successor. There was considerable room for choice, for, besides an infant son of Muzzuffer Jung, three of his uncles, the brothers of Nazir Jung, were in the camp. Necessity dictated the exclusion of the infant, and the choice fell on Salabut Jung, who, as the eldest of the brothers, had the next best claim. M. Bussy, who had a chief share in his election, took care that the interests of his company were not forgotten, and procured from him a confirmation of all the grants made to the French by his predecessor, and the promise of still greater advantages. On these conditions Dupleix recognized him as soubahdar, and placed M. Bussy's detachment at his service. Salabut Jung proclaimed soubahdar.

CHAPTER V.

Intrigues of Mahomed Ali—Vacillating conduct of the Madras government—Siege of Trichinopoly—Capture of Arcot.

MAHOMED ALI was in the camp when Nazir Jung was assassinated, and fled for the third time to Trichinopoly. His prospects were now gloomy in the extreme. The English, after sending him assistance, had withdrawn in disgust and left him to his fate, and it was not likely that Chunda Sahib would allow him to escape, as before, by repeating the blunder into which he fell when, instead of laying siege to Trichinopoly, he invaded Tanjore. Dupleix could doubtless control his movements, and would take care that they were conducted more skilfully. Mahomed Ali, while thus threatened and perplexed, was incapable of coming to any manly decision, and followed the true bent of his nature by weaving an intricate web of policy. While applying to every quarter from which any aid could be anticipated—to the Mahrattas, the Mysoreans, and the British presidency—he entered into secret communications Perplexities of Mahomed Ali.

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A.D. 1751.

with the French, and adjusted, it is said, the terms of a treaty, by which he was to renounce his claims on the nabobship of Arcot, and content himself with some inferior appointment in the Deccan. The surrender of Trichinopoly, of course, formed a leading stipulation in such a treaty; and, when completed, would have formed another most important link in the scheme of French aggrandisement, on which Dupleix was exerting all his energies with every prospect of success.

Wavering policy of the Madras presidency.

The Madras presidency could not but be aware that the ultimate effect of the accomplishment of this scheme would be to drive the British and every other European rival from the field, and make the French absolute masters of the destinies of India; but so little were they prepared to take the course which even self-preservation should have dictated, that they voluntarily deprived themselves of the ablest and most experienced officer in their service, by allowing Major Lawrence to sail for England. When they had thus weakened their hands they began to be alarmed at the consequences of their timorous policy, and wished that they had not so hastily withdrawn their aid from Mahomed Ali. The best reparation they could now make, was to send him a new detachment, and endeavour if possible to dissuade him from the suicidal step which he was understood to be contemplating of making a surrender of Trichinopoly. The aid thus offered consisted only of 280 Europeans and 300 sepoys; but he gladly accepted it, as his fortunes, in consequence of recent events, were assuming a more favourable aspect. He had been a steady adherent of Nazir Jung, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that Salabut Jung would rather confide in his brother's friend than in those who had been the main instruments of his assassination. At all events, as he had removed with his army into the Deccan, it was not likely that he would soon return to the Carnatic. Chunda Sahib would thus be left to fight his own battles, and there seemed no reason to despair of being able to muster a force equal to any which he could bring into the field.

Expedition to Tinnevelly.

The first campaign in which Mahomed Ali was concerned, after he had renewed his alliance with the British, proved very disastrous. In addition to Trichinopoly, he claimed authority over two territories or kingdoms; the one, Madura, lying immediately south, and the other, Tinnevelly, lying beyond Madura, and reaching to Cape Comorin. His power in these kingdoms was more nominal than real; and with the view of establishing it more firmly, he fitted out an expedition, and gave the command of it to his brother, who met with little opposition from the inhabitants, but was paralyzed by a mutinous spirit among his own soldiers. Their sympathies were with Chunda Sahib; and had not strong measures of repression been used, they would have declared in his favour. In Madura a similar feeling prevailed; and being fostered by a soldier of fortune, who had once been in the service, and was still in the interest of Chunda Sahib, gained a complete ascendant in the garrison of the capital.

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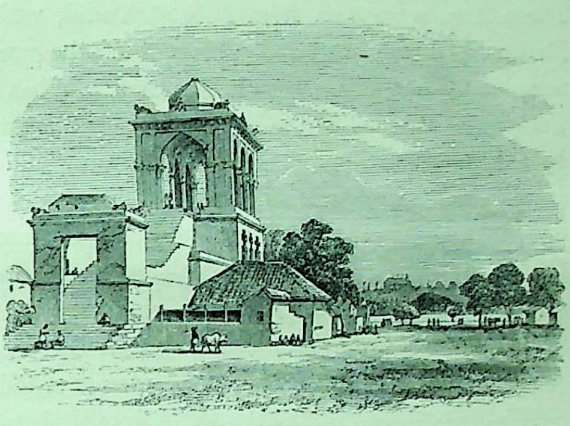
As the loss of Madura, by interrupting the communication with Tinnevelly, from which Mahomed Ali expected a considerable revenue, greatly crippled his resources, Captain Cope, who commanded the Company's detachment, volunteered to recover it. His means were very inadequate. He had only one battering cannon, three field-pieces, and two coehorns; and with these he set out at the head of 150 Europeans and 600 native cavalry, to lay siege to a city above two miles in circuit, and fortified with a double wall and a ditch. The deficiency of troops, so far at least as regarded numbers, was, however, sufficiently supplied, for on coming within sight of Madura he was joined by the army of nearly 5000 men which was returning from Tinnevelly; the artillery continued as before, and his whole success depended on the breaching power of a large old native gun which might at any moment burst in his hands. The enterprise, though little judgment had been displayed in arranging it, seemed favoured by fortune. Several large breaches already existed in the outer wall, and the gun fired through one of them at the inner wall for two successive days made a breach which was deemed practicable with the aid of fascines. It was now resolved to storm. The reader naturally asks, Why not continue the firing for another day, and enlarge the breach, so as to make fascines unnecessary? The answer is, It was impossible: the old gun had expended all its shot! The storming party passed the first wall without resistance, but at the foot of the breach of the inner wall were encountered by a trio of champions; "one of them," says Orme, "a very bulky man, in complete armour," who fought manfully and wounded several of the forlorn hope before they were cut down. Meanwhile, bullets, arrows, and stones poured thick from above. Nothing daunted, the storming party gained the parapet, but there saw a sight which might well have filled them with dismay. On each side of the breach was a mound of earth, with trees laid horizontally upon it, yet leaving openings through which the enemy thrust their pikes, while at the bottom of the rampart a strong entrenchment had been thrown up, and from three to four thousand men stood ready to defend it. The assault, in which it would have been madness to persist, was abandoned, and on the following day Captain Cope, after blowing his old gun to pieces, because he had not the means to carry it away, returned crest-fallen to Trichinopoly. It was indeed high time to be off, for the bad spirit of the Tinnevelly army

A.D. 1751.

Failure of an attempt on Madura.



VIEW IN FORT OF MADURA.—From Daniell's Oriental Scenery.

Capt. Cope returns to Trichinopoly.

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A.D. 1751. could no longer be restrained, and 2500 horse and 1000 infantry went over to the enemy.

Insulting proceedings of Duplaix.

At the time when this reverse was sustained, news arrived that Chunda Sahib was preparing to march from Arcot to besiege Trichinopoly. Mahomed Ali's applications to the presidency for aid became more urgent than ever, and he endeavoured to give weight to them by promising not merely to pay all expenses, but to give a grant to the Company of a considerable territory adjoining Madras. Tempting as the offer was, there is reason to doubt if it would have succeeded had it not found a powerful advocate in a very unexpected quarter. Dupleix, ostensibly for the purpose of marking the boundaries of his new acquisitions, though probably as much for the purpose of tantalizing his rivals, had caused small white flags to be planted in almost every field. These flags were seen from Fort St. David, which, ever since the capture of Madras, had continued to be the seat of the presidency, and naturally excited mingled feelings of fear and indignation. What was to become of the English Company's trade with the interior if they allowed themselves to be hemmed in by a rival company, whose boundary line would ere long be converted into an impassable barrier by the imposition of heavy, perhaps prohibitive duties? The designs of Dupleix had hitherto been only surmised, but he had now thrown off the mask and given them warning—the more impressive because of its insolence—of what they must be prepared to expect. It would be madness to hesitate any longer. Their own ruin was involved in that of Mahomed Ali, and their only safety was in supporting him to the utmost of their power. Influenced by such considerations the presidency awoke from their lethargy and resolved on action, still, however, not as principals but under their old disguise of mercenaries or auxiliaries.

Expedition against Volconda.

In the beginning of April, 1751, a detachment was provided of 500 Europeans, fifty of them cavalry, 100 Africans, and 1000 sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and placed under the command of Captain Gingen, who was to wait near Fort St. David the arrival of Mahomed Ali's troops from Trichinopoly. After a delay of six weeks he was joined by only 600 horse and 1000 foot, and proceeded south-west to Verdachelum, a large and strong pagoda, garrisoned by 300 of Chunda Sahib's troops, who surrendered after being threatened with an assault. Shortly after the army was more than doubled by the arrival of 100 Europeans, sent by Captain Cope, and 2000 horse and 2000 foot, commanded by Mahomed Ali's brother, and set out to encounter Chunda Sahib in person. He was encamped near Volconda, situated thirty-eight miles N.N.W. of Trichinopoly, on the highway from that city to Arcot. Its principal defence was a rock 200 feet high, and about a mile in circuit at its base, which was washed by the Valaru. It was inclosed by three walls; one at the bottom, mostly cut out of the solid rock; another near, and the third actually on the summit. The governor was summoned by both parties, but answered that he wished to see

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the issue of a battle before he would yield it up to either. Captain Gingen, becoming impatient, determined to force a surrender; and after posting his army so as to intercept the approach of Chunda Sahib, should he attempt to interfere, sent a strong detachment to attempt the capture. The town, inclosed only by a mud wall, was easily gained; but the rock, as should have been foreseen, could not be assaulted till a breach was made, and the detachment returned to the camp. A.D. 1751.

Captain Gingen, while thus assuming the offensive, seems to have been ignorant or regardless of the fact, that he was opposed by far superior numbers. Chunda Sahib had an army of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys, and was besides supported by a strong battalion of French. These at break of day next morning were seen approaching along the bed of the river, which was nearly dry. Instead of attempting to intercept their progress, Captain Gingen and his officers were deliberating in a council of war whether they should fight or retreat. It was resolved to fight; but meanwhile the French were near the foot of the rock, and the resolution came too late. The troops, aware of the hesitations of the council of war, had no hope of victory; and, seeing some of their officers betraying symptoms of fear when the guns of the fort opened on them, were seized with panic. Strange to say, it was at first begun and for some time confined to the Company's battalion, for not only did their own officers—Clive, now a lieutenant, among the number—endeavour to rally them, but Abdul Wahab Khan, Mahomed Ali's brother, riding up to them, and pointing to his own men, who still kept their ground, upbraided them for their cowardice. It was all in vain, and the day was lost. Even after the danger was over, the fear was so unequivocally declared, that Captain Gingen, to free them even from the sight of the enemy, commenced his retreat at midnight, on the road leading to Trichinopoly, and did not venture to halt till he had reached the pass or straits of Ootatoor. Chunda Sahib followed slowly by the same route. When he appeared in sight some skirmishing took place, and even a regular battle was talked of, but the spirit of the troops was still such that Captain Gingen was afraid to risk it, and stole away with them in the silence of the night. So eager were they to place themselves beyond the reach of pursuit, that they marched eighteen hours without refreshment in the hottest season. Chunda Sahib following leisurely found them encamped on the northern bank of the Coleroon, within sight of Trichinopoly. The site of the encampment was now the only spot of ground beyond the Coleroon which Mahomed Ali could call his own. Disgraceful defeat.

About five miles north-west of Trichinopoly, the Cauvery, after a somewhat circuitous south-easterly course of 380 miles from its source in the Western Ghauts, divides into two principal arms, the northern of which is called the Coleroon, while the southern retains its own name. For the first fifteen miles, as far as the fort of Coilady, the two arms run nearly parallel to each other, and again approach so near that they are only prevented from uniting by means of The island of Seringham with its pagodas.

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A.D. 1751.

an artificial mound. The long and narrow slip of land thus inclosed between the arms forms what is called the island of Seringham. Near its western extremity, where the fork begins, and at a short distance from the Coleroon side, stood one of the most famous pagodas, or Hindoo temples, in Hindoostan. It consisted of seven squares, one within the other, each surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet high and four thick, and entered by four lofty turreted gates, facing the cardinal points. The wall of the outermost square is about four miles in circuit. The pagoda owed its celebrity to the supposed possession of the very image of Vishnu which Brahma used to worship; and the myriads of pilgrims flocking to it sufficed at one time to maintain 40,000 Brahmins in voluptuous idleness. About half a mile east of this pagoda, and near the Cauvery side, stood another, also of large dimensions, but with one inclosure only.

Encampment at Trichinopoly.

The encampment on the north bank of the Coleroon was inconvenient for obtaining supplies, and for this reason, and also no doubt because it was deemed safer to have a river between them and the enemy, Mahomed Ali's army crossed over into the island of Seringham. The whole, including the English battalion, took up their quarters within the three first inclosures, and abstained at the earnest solicitations of the priests from approaching nearer to the sanctuary of the idol. The post was admirably adapted for defence, but a cowardly spirit still prevailed among the troops, and they would not believe themselves safe till they had taken the last retrograde step now possible, and place themselves under the walls of Trichinopoly. Chunda Sahib gladly occupied the island thus evacuated. It was not, however, with the intention of remaining in it. The great prize for which he was contending was now full in his view, and leaving only a garrison in Seringham, he crossed the Cauvery, and encamped on the east of Trichinopoly. The main body of Mahomed Ali's troops were stationed on the south side, and the English battalion under Captain Gingen on the west. Captain Cope, with 100 Europeans, remained within the walls.

The fortifications of that city.

Trichinopoly, situated within half a mile of the south or right bank of the Cauvery, is in the form of a parallelogram, of which the east and west sides have each a length of 2000, and the north and south a breadth of 1200 yards. It is inclosed by a ditch, 30 feet wide, and 12 deep, supplied with water more or less copiously according to the season, but never dry, and two walls flanked at regular intervals by round towers. The outer wall, only 18 feet high, and about 5 thick, has neither rampart nor parapet; the inner wall, 30 feet high, and 25 feet apart from the other, is much stronger in every respect, having a rampart and a parapet both of stone, the former rising from a broad base by large decreasing steps, so as to be only 10 feet broad at the top, and the latter about 7 feet high, loopholed for musketry. Within the walls in the north part of the city is a lofty precipitous rock of sienite, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country.

Such was the only place of strength now belonging to Mahomed Ali; and on

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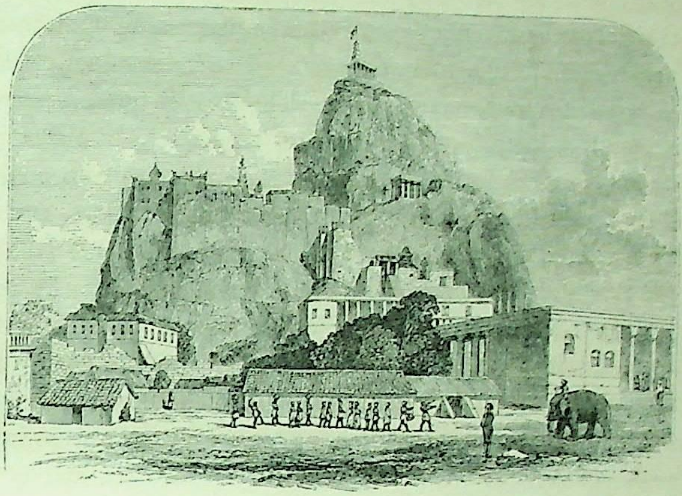
the issue of the siege about to be commenced, depended not only his fate, in which, from the worthlessness of his character, no great interest could be felt, but the decision of the momentous question, whether a French or a British empire was to be established in India. The presidency at Fort St David, now fully committed to the war, were grievously disappointed at the series of disgraces and defeats which had been sustained, and could not look forward to the siege of Trichinopoly, without the gloomiest forebodings. They had no idea, however, of abandoning the contest in despair, and began to display a firmness and decision of which, it must be confessed, they had previously given few examples. Mr. Saunders, the governor, though devoid of the versatility and showy talents of Dupleix, surpassed him in more solid qualities; and having now no doubt as to the course which the interests of the Company dictated, pursued it with judgment and perseverance. His means, however, were very limited, and his first reinforcement for Trichinopoly consisted of only eighty Europeans and 300 sepoys, cumbered with a large convoy of stores. The conducting of such a body through a hostile country was a matter of no small difficulty, more especially, as Verdachelum which lay in the line of route, though it still held out against Chunda Sahib, was at this very time besieged by a *polygar* in his interest. The removal of this obstruction was therefore the first object to be accomplished. The charge of the reinforcement was given to Mr. Pigot, a member of council. He was accompanied, it would seem not officially, but rather as a volunteer, by Clive, who, after the capture of Devicotta, had resumed his position as a civil servant of the Company, though still closely connected with the army, by holding the appointment of commissary for supplying the European troops with provisions. It was in this capacity that he was present at Volconda when the ignominious flight took place; and hence, though he is mentioned as having been present at the council of war which preceded, and was one main cause of that flight, he did not share in the disgrace of it, but returned to Fort St. David.

A.D. 1751.



ROCK AND TEMPLE OF TRICHINOPOLY, with Brahmins carrying water into the Temple.
From painting in Library of East India House.

Preparations for the defence of Trichinopoly.

Pigot and Clive, after reaching Verdachelum, and relieving it by surprising

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A.D. 1751. and defeating the troops of the polygar, sent the reinforcement forward to its destination through the kingdom of Tanjore, and were on their return to Fort St. David with twenty-four attendants, twelve of them sepoys, when they were surrounded by the polygar's troops, and after losing the greater number of their attendants, only escaped by the fleetness of their horses. Not long after, another reinforcement was despatched to Trichinopoly. Affairs there were still in a most unsatisfactory state. The British officers were quarrelling among themselves instead of thinking how they might best sustain the honour of their country; and it seemed absolutely necessary to make an example of several of them by dismissing them at a time when their places could hardly be supplied. To meet the difficulty in part, Clive returned to his true vocation, and set out for Trichinopoly in command of the reinforcement. It proceeded through the territory of Tanjore, the king of which still professed neutrality, and received from Devicotta a small accession under Captain Clarke, who, as senior officer, assumed the command. The whole united mustered only 100 Europeans and fifty sepoys, with a field-piece. The French, who were in possession of the fort of Coilady, detached a body of thirty Europeans and 500 sepoys to intercept them. A skirmish ensued greatly to the disadvantage of the French, and the detachment reached Trichinopoly in safety. The superiority of the enemy was still very decided. Chunda Sahib's troops were ten times more numerous than those of Mahomed Ali; and while the French battalion mustered 900, the English did not exceed 600 men. In pecuniary resources, also, the enemy had decidedly the advantage. The whole country either acknowledged their authority, or was subject to their exactions, while almost all the usual sources of Mahomed Ali's revenues were dried up. The only thing to balance these advantages of the besiegers was the strength of the place.

Narrow escape of Clive.

His expedition to Trichinopoly.

He attacks and captures Arcot.

Captain Clive returned to Fort St. David in the beginning of August, 1751, and after representing the fatal issue to which affairs at Trichinopoly were evidently tending, suggested as a last resource to attempt a diversion by an attack on Arcot. The bold proposal was accepted, and he was requested, or volunteered to undertake the execution of it. After stripping Fort St. David and Madras so as to leave only 100 men in the one and fifty in the other, the whole force that could be mustered for the expedition, amounted to 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, with three field-pieces. Of the officers, eight in number, six had never seen service, and of these six four were civilians, who, animated by Clive's example, quitted the desk for the sword. Starting from Madras on the 26th of August, they proceeded south-east to Conjeveram, where they arrived on the 29th, and learned that the fort of Arcot was garrisoned by 1100 men. From Conjeveram they continued their march nearly due west, not far from the northern bank of the Paliar, and on the 31st were within ten miles of Arcot. Their approach was made known by spies, who had seen the detachment marching with unconcern in a violent storm of thunder and rain. The garrison

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on hearing this report lost all heart, and under the combined influence of superstition and cowardice, abandoned the place a few hours before the detachment arrived. The city being without walls or defences was immediately entered, and Clive and his 500 men, marching in triumph under the gaze of 100,000 spectators, took possession of the fort. It was inhabited by 3000 or 4000 persons, who were permitted to remain, and contained goods which had been deposited in it for security to the value of £50,000. The goods were judiciously and generously restored to the owners without ransom; the artillery, consisting of eight pieces of cannon, from four to eight pounders, and a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, were all that remained to the captors. A.D. 1751.

Clive anticipating a siege made it his first business to provide the necessary stores, and then, in order to strike new terror into the garrison, set out in quest of them with the greatest part of his men and four field-pieces. They were found about six miles to the south-west, near the fort of Timery, but though drawn up as if they meant to make a stand, they only continued firing a single field-piece, managed by two or three Europeans, and made off for the hills before they could be brought within musket-shot. Two days after Clive again marched out of the fort, and, as before, found the enemy, now increased to 2000, within gunshot of Timery. They were posted in a grove inclosed by a ditch and a bank, and having about fifty yards in front a large tank almost choked up and dry, with a bank much higher than that of the grove. As the detachment advanced, the enemy fired smartly from two field-pieces, and killed three Europeans. On this the detachment advanced rapidly, and the enemy, leaving the grove, hurried into the tank, where they were so well sheltered, that they inflicted some loss without sustaining any. Clive removed his troops behind some buildings, and sent out two platoons to attack two sides of the tank. Both gained the banks, and at the same instant let fly a double volley among the crowds within. They made no attempt to return, and fled, while Clive gained possession of the *pettah* or village under the walls of the fort. This he immediately summoned to surrender, but the garrison, discovering that he had no battering cannon, refused, and he had no alternative but to retreat, the enemy's cavalry hovering around him at a safe distance till he reached Arcot. Clive pursues the garrison of Arcot.

The next ten days were employed on necessary works within the fort; and the enemy, increased to 3000 men, acquired new courage and began to talk of besieging. They were allowed to lull themselves into security, and on the 14th of September, two hours after midnight, were surprised in their sleep. Clive, with the greater part of his troops, beat up their camp from end to end without the loss of a man, while they fled on all sides with shrieks and confusion. When day broke, not a man of them was to be seen. Preparations for the defence of Arcot.

Two eighteen-pounders with some military stores had been asked from Madras, and were on the way escorted only by a few sepoys. In hope of intercepting them, a large detachment of the enemy occupied the pagoda of The siege.

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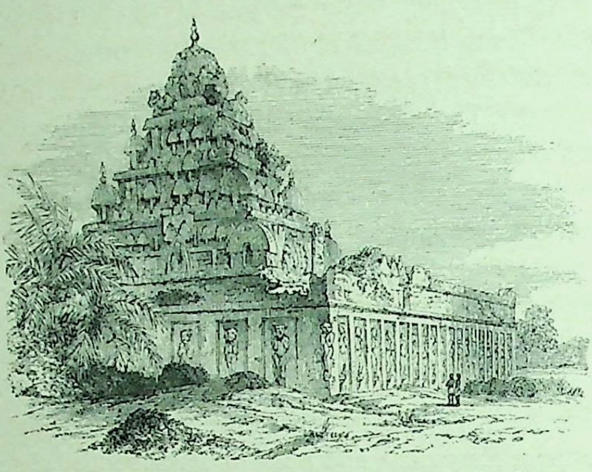
A.D. 1751. Conjeveram; and, on being expelled by thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys from Arcot, withdrew to a neighbouring fort. Here their numbers were continually augmented. The convoy being thus endangered, Clive, reserving only thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys, sent out all the rest of his troops to insure its safety. On this, the enemy with considerable dexterity suddenly changed their tactics, and hastening to Arcot, surrounded the fort with their whole force as soon as it was dark. A fire of musketry was immediately opened upon the ramparts from the adjacent buildings, while a large body, horse and foot promiscuously, rushed towards the principal gates with loud outcries and the noise of martial music. A few hand-grenades thrown into the mass so frightened the horses, that they galloped off, trampling the foot beneath them; a second assault made in the same manner was repulsed by the same means. The fire against the ramparts was still kept up and continued till daybreak, when the assailants fled precipitately on seeing the approach of the detachment and convoy. It is rather singular, that during the attack on the fort, the inhabitants within it expressed no sympathy with their countrymen outside. Some may see in this nothing but Clive's good fortune, but others with more justice will see in it the due reward of the kindness and generosity which he had displayed in allowing them both to occupy their dwellings and retain possession of their goods.



Pagoda at Conjeveram.—From Viscount Valentia's Travels.

Proceedings during the siege.

The capture of Arcot produced the effect which had been anticipated; and the pressure on Trichinopoly was considerably relieved by the withdrawal of 4000 of Chunda Sahib's troops. These, joined on their route by his son Rajah Sahib, with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and the other troops previously collected in the neighbourhood, entered Arcot on the 23d of September. Clive, unwilling to be cooped up within the fort, determined to take the initiative, and try whether he could not, by a vigorous effort, rid himself of the enemy altogether. Facing the north-west gate of the fort was a street, which, after running north for 70 yards, turned east to the nabob's palace, where Rajah Sahib had fixed his head-quarters. From the palace another street ran south, and was continued along the east side of the fort. The space thus bounded by streets on the west, north, and east, and by the north wall of the fort on the south, formed a square occupied by buildings and inclosures. With the

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intention of placing the enemy between two fires, Clive sallied out from the north-west gate with the greatest part of his troops and the four field pieces, and advanced along the street leading north and east; while Ensign Glass was ordered to proceed from the east gate up the street leading north to the palace, which was thus the common point at which the two detachments, if they removed the obstacles in their way, would meet. On turning east, Clive saw the French troops, with four field pieces, drawn up at the palace, and a cannonade commenced at the distance of only 30 yards. A few minutes cleared the street of the French, and obliged them to take refuge in the palace. Meanwhile, Rajah Sahib's troops occupying the houses in the street, and sheltered by them, kept up a continual fire, with so good an aim that fourteen men sent to capture and bring away the French guns were all killed or wounded. To escape this murderous fire, Clive took advantage of a large *choultry* or building for the reception of travellers. It was situated on one side of the street, and having an open front supported by pillars, while its other three sides were inclosed, afforded good cover; and at the same time, giving free ingress and egress, enabled the artillerymen to load and fire without much danger. In this way the guns were gradually withdrawn into the north street; and the whole party which had sallied from the north-west gate were able to return by it into the fort. The platoon under Ensign Glass returned about the same time, after encountering similar difficulties. The whole attack was a decided failure, and gave Clive a lesson of caution which seems to have been, at this early stage of his military experience, by no means unnecessary. It cost him the lives of fifteen Europeans, who were killed on the spot or mortally wounded; and the services of sixteen more of his party, who were disabled. Among the latter was Lieutenant Revel, the only artillery officer; among the former was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, by pulling Clive aside when he saw a sepoy aiming at him, saved his commanding officer's life and lost his own, as the sepoy immediately changed the aim, and shot him through the body.

A.D. 1751.

Proceedings during the siege.

The day after this affair Rajah Sahib was reinforced by 2000 men from Vellore, commanded by Mortiz Ali in person, and commenced the siege by occupying all the avenues leading to the fort. Its defence must have been regarded, both by besiegers and besieged, as all but impossible. Its walls, about a mile in circuit, and several of the towers flanking them, were in many places ruinous; the rampart, surmounted by a low and slightly built parapet, was too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; and the ditch, choked up in some places and dry in others, was generally, even when it contained water, so shallow as to be fordable. The only two gates—the north-west and east, already mentioned—were large piles of masonry projecting 40 feet beyond the walls, and the entrance to each of them was not by a drawbridge, but a broad causeway. This large, decayed, and ill-constructed fort had an efficient garrison of only 120 Europeans and 200 sepoys; and was besieged by an army

State of fortifications of Arcot.

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A.D. 1751.

of above 10,000, composed as follows—150 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, 5000 peons or undisciplined native infantry, and 3000 cavalry. As it was provisioned only for forty days, it was necessary to send away all the inhabitants except a few artificers, one of them, a mason, who most fortunately knew of a secret subterraneous aqueduct, by which, if it had not been choked up in consequence of his information, the only reservoir within the fort might have been drained of its water. As many of the houses of the town were within musket-shot, and would give great facilities to the besiegers, an attempt was made to burn several of them. It failed, because they were almost entirely of stone; and it was resolved to get rid of the two which threatened to be most annoying by employing more destructive means. Accordingly, at midnight, Ensign Glass and ten men, with several barrels of gunpowder, were let down from the wall by a rope. They got into the houses without being discovered, but made the explosion so unskilfully that the effect intended was not produced. Nor was this the only misfortune. The rope broke while Ensign Glass was ascending by it, and the fall unfitted him for further duty.

Small number of defenders.

Activity and stratagem of the besiegers.

For a fortnight the besiegers, while waiting for the battering cannon, kept up a bombardment with four mortars, which did little damage. The fire of musketry from the houses was more effective; indeed, the aim was so sure that a man could scarcely show his head above the parapet without being hit. In this way three sergeants, accompanying Clive while he visited the works, were picked off, and several other persons were killed or wounded. Before the siege began in earnest, Mortiz Ali was tempted to try a stratagem. Pretending to be dissatisfied with Rajah Sahib, he withdrew with his troops to a different quarter of the city, and sent a secret messenger to acquaint Clive with his feelings, and assure him that if he would make a sally, he would support him with all his force. Clive was not to be thus caught, and cleverly foiled Mortiz Ali with his own weapons. Instead of giving a refusal, he pretended to approve of the scheme; and by maintaining the correspondence for several days, induced a large portion of the enemy to remain inactive. Mortiz Ali, perceiving at last that he was outwitted, returned to his former place in the camp.

A practicable breach.

On the 24th of October, two eighteen-pounders and seven smaller pieces arrived from Pondicherry. With these the French opened a battery to the north-west, and served it so well that the very first shot dismounted, and the second entirely disabled one of the eighteen-pounders in the fort. The other eighteen-pounder there was also soon dismounted, and removed to a spot not exposed to the fire from the battery, which, being thus scarcely answered at all, succeeded in six days in beating down all the wall between two towers, and making a practicable breach. The garrison, meantime, spared no exertion. Immediately under the rampart opposite to the breach two trenches were dug, leaving a considerable space between them, which was covered with crows'-feet; and still farther back, a house was pulled down to the height of a breastwork, from

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which palisades were carried along the ends of the trenches up to the parapet. One field-piece was placed on one of the towers flanking the breach, and two on the flat roof of a house opposite to it. The enemy, aware of the reception prepared for them, did not yet venture to storm, and proceeded to erect another battery on the south-west.

A.D. 1751.

Anenormous gun.

The garrison, in the meantime, more in the spirit of bravado than the anticipation of any important result, thickened the highest tower of the ramparts, and crowned it with a mound of earth. On the top of this mound, which commanded the palace, as it towered above the intervening houses, they hoisted up an enormous gun, said to have been sent from Delhi by Aurungzebe, and transported by 1000 yoke of oxen. The iron balls belonging to it weighed seventy-two pounds. The very first of these, fired from it with a charge of thirty pounds of gunpowder, went right through the palace, to the no small terror of Rajah Sahib and his staff. It was fired only once a-day, and after four discharges burst. The besiegers, wishing to retaliate in similar style, filled up the interior of a large house with earth well rammed down; and having thus formed a square mound, and raised it so high as to overlook every part of the fort, intended it for two small cannon and musketry. The garrison allowed the works to proceed till the cannon were actually mounted, and then opened upon it with their reserved eighteen-pounder, and with such good effect, that in less than an hour it tumbled down with the fifty men stationed upon it.

Attempt to relieve Arcot.

The perilous position of the garrison being well known at the presidency, it was resolved to reinforce it; and, with this view, a party of 100 Europeans and 200 sepoys left Madras under Lieutenant Innes. After a considerable part of the journey was accomplished, they were surrounded by 2000 of the enemy, and were only able, after serious loss, to retreat to the fort of Ponamalee, fifteen miles west of Madras. Relief from the presidency having thus become apparently hopeless, Clive opened a communication with Morari Row, the Mahratta chief of Gootee, who had been encamped for some time with 6000 men among the mountains, thirty miles west of Arcot. He had come as the hired ally of Mahomed Ali, but had remained inactive on seeing the desperate state of his affairs. Clive's name, however, was now beginning to carry a charm along with it; and Morari Row's answer was, that he would lose not a moment in coming to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, "whose behaviour had now first convinced him that the English could fight." This intelligence alarmed Rajah Sahib, who endeavoured to anticipate the arrival of the Mahrattas by sending a flag of truce to the fort, offering honourable terms to the garrison, and a large sum of money to Clive, and threatening, if his offers were not accepted, to storm immediately and put every man to the sword. Clive only disdained his bribe, and laughed at his threats.

The reinforcement from Madras, slightly increased, and commanded by Captain Kilpatrick, was again attempting to advance; and a detachment of

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A.D. 1751. Mahrattas had actually arrived in the neighbourhood, and captured a quantity of ammunition going to the besiegers. Rajah Sahib, now awake to the danger of further delay, and encouraged by the effect of his south-west battery, which had made a still larger breach than that on the north-west, determined to storm. The day selected was the 14th of November, one of the greatest of Mahometan festivals, commemorative of the murder of Hossein, the chief of the Fatimites. During its celebration, every son of Moslem falling in battle against unbelievers, is understood to pass at once to paradise without enduring the delays and pains of intermediate purgatories. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm which such a period excites, and heightening it by inebriating drugs, Rajah Sahib, as soon as morning broke, gave the signal for assault. Every part of the fort was threatened; but the principal attack was made in four divisions, two directed against the breaches, and two against the gates. Clive, after making his arrangements, had gone to sleep, and on being aroused found the garrison at their posts. The ditch in front of the north-west breach was fordable, and the division allotted to this part of the attack rushed across it. A large number immediately sat down with great composure underneath the wall to act as a reserve, while the rest hastened up to the breach, filled it, and had even passed, before the defenders gave fire. It was most deadly, and continued without a moment's interruption, those behind supplying loaded muskets to those in front as fast as they could discharge them. The two cannons planted on the roof of the house opposite the breach did fearful execution, and the assailants were forced to retire. Fresh bodies, however, again and again renewed the assault, but were driven off as before. Meantime, those seated under the wall were not forgotten, and a few bombs with short fusees thrown from above obliged them to decamp. At the south-west breach, the attack was made in a different manner. The ditch under it not being fordable, the assailants brought forward a raft, which was large enough to carry seventy men. These embarked upon it, and, though fired upon by two field-pieces, one on each flank, were nearly across, when Clive, observing the bad aim of the gunners, took the management of one of the pieces, and in two or three discharges caused such confusion that the raft was overset, and those upon it who escaped drowning swam back to the opposite side.

The assault.

Its failure.

The assault had lasted nearly an hour. As soon as it ceased, the assailants employed themselves in carrying off their dead. They might have been permitted to discharge this duty of humanity undisturbed; but the fire of the garrison was not slackened, and they were obliged to desist. An act of heroism, on the part of a native, is not unworthy of being recorded. The leader of the sepoys at the north bridge, after greatly distinguishing himself, had fallen. He was greatly beloved by his men, and one of them crossed the ditch for his body. Though the attempt exposed him to the fire of forty muskets, he had the good fortune to escape unharmed with his honourable burden. The whole

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loss of the enemy was computed at 400 men, almost all natives; for the French, as if unwilling to encounter the English in the deadly breach while the two governments were actually at peace, had kept aloof, and been only spectators of the assault. The loss of the garrison amounted only to four Europeans killed, and two sepoys wounded. When the assault took place, so many of the garrison were disabled by wounds or sickness, that the whole number engaged mustered only eighty Europeans, officers included, and 120 sepoys. These, during the attack, served five pieces of cannon, and expended 12,000 musket-cartridges. A.D. 1751.

Two hours after their repulse, the enemy renewed their fire both with cannon and musketry; and with the exception of two hours, during which they were allowed, at their own request, a truce to bury their dead, maintained it till two in the following morning, when it suddenly ceased. When the day dawned the garrison were overjoyed to learn the cause. The enemy had evacuated the town; and the siege, after lasting fifty days, was finally raised. In the camp were found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, showing how precipitate the departure of the enemy must have been. In the evening, Captain Kilpatrick arrived with his detachment. The siege raised.

Rajah Sahib's repulse had been the signal for the departure of all his auxiliary chiefs, and he was left only with the troops which his father had sent from Trichinopoly. With these and the French he moved west to Vellore, close to the eastern side of which he inclosed himself within strong intrenchments. Clive, being now free to act, left Captain Kilpatrick in command of the fort, and proceeded with 200 Europeans, 700 sepoys, and three field-pieces, south to Timery, which surrendered on the first summons. His next movements depended on the Mahrattas, who had promised to join him, but as usual employed themselves in plundering the surrounding country. Basin Row, whom his uncle, Morari Row, had left in command of 1000 horse, conducted himself so negligently when in the vicinity of Vellore that he exposed himself to a night attack, and was obliged to leave his camp to the enemy. Anxious to repair the loss he applied to Clive, who set out with him, and was thus engaged when he learned that a party of Europeans from Pondicherry were on the way to Arnee, a strong fort on the road between Arcot and Gingee. He proposed to intercept them, and succeeded, after some difficulty, in obtaining the consent of Basin Row, whose objections were not overcome till he learned that the French were carrying a large sum of money to Rajah Sahib. Even after he gave his consent, he was unable to muster more than 600 horse. These, when added to Clive's original force, left him far inferior to the enemy, whom he discovered after a forced march of twenty miles, preparing to cross the river immediately to the north of Arnee with 300 Europeans, 2000 horse, and 2500 sepoys. Clive captures Timery.

The enemy, perceiving their superiority, wheeled round and determined to

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A.D. 1751.

give battle. Clive on his part did not decline it, and awaited the attack in an advantageous position—the Mahrattas occupying a grove of palm trees on the left, the sepoys a village on the right, and the Europeans an open ground in the centre between the two. In front were swampy rice fields, with a causeway leading through them to the village. The French, with about 1500 of their sepoys and their artillery, advanced along the causeway, while the horse, with the remaining sepoys interspersed with them, moved forward on the grove. Here a spirited action commenced, and the Mahrattas displayed much gallantry, making five successive charges, though only to be repulsed. The division advancing along the causeway were more successfully opposed, and were so galled and enfiladed by the English field-pieces that all but the artillerymen with the cannon quitted the causeway and made for the rice fields. Their position was not thereby improved, and a general alarm spreading over their whole ranks they commenced a retreat. Clive followed close in pursuit, but night coming on they made their escape with comparatively little loss, crossed the river and entered Arnee. So much, however, were they dispirited that they did not venture to remain, and quitted it in disorder, followed by the Mahrattas, who, now entirely in their element, overtook them, and captured Rajah Sahib's military chest, containing 100,000 rupees. In consequence of this defeat, many of the enemy's sepoys deserted and offered their services to Clive, who enlisted 600 of those who were best armed.

Clive's victory at Arnee.

He captures Conjeveram.

During the siege of Arcot, the French, by occupying Conjeveram, had interrupted the communication with Madras, and captured a party of disabled men who were proceeding thither. Some of them they are said to have atrociously murdered in their litters, but Lieutenant Revel and Ensign Glass, already mentioned, obtained quarter, and were living as prisoners in Conjeveram when Clive appeared before it and summoned it to surrender. The French commander so far forgot himself as to threaten that, if he were attacked, he would expose these English officers on the walls. Clive paid no regard to this unworthy menace; and on receiving two eighteen-pounders from Madras, began to batter in breach at the distance of 200 yards. On this occasion he made another of those remarkable hairbreadth escapes, of which we have already seen several instances, an officer who accompanied him while reconnoitring being shot dead by his side. The breach would soon have been rendered practicable, but the French commander, dreading the resentment which he knew he must have provoked, did not venture to stand an assault, and abandoned the place in the night, leaving his two prisoners behind. After ruining the defences of Conjeveram, Clive sent 200 Europeans and 500 sepoys to Arcot, and returned with the rest to the presidency, to give an account of his triumphant campaign.

Stratagem of the enemy to surprise Arcot.

Rajah Sahib's scattered troops, seeing the field again clear by the departure of the British, re-assembled, and moving down toward the coast, ravaged part of the Company's territory around Madras and in the vicinity of St. Thomé.

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They next returned to Conjeveram, repaired the defences of the pagoda, garrisoned it with 300 sepoys, and kept possession of the open country as far east as Ponamalee. The presidency, who had been employed in preparing a reinforcement for Trichinopoly, determined to employ it, in the first instance, in expelling these dangerous and troublesome intruders. Clive, appointed to this task, marched from Madras in February, 1752, with a detachment which, when augmented by a reinforcement from Arcot, consisted of 380 Europeans and 1300 sepoys, with six field-pieces. The enemy, though mustering 400 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and 2500 horse, with a large train of artillery, did not venture to risk an encounter, and removed south to Vandaloor, where, as they strongly intrenched themselves, they seemed determined on a stand. On Clive's approach it looked as if their courage had again failed them, for they had not only abandoned their camp, but dispersed as if some sudden terror had struck them. It soon appeared, however, that they were not obeying their fears, but following out a deep-laid scheme. When again heard of they were united at Conjeveram, and preparing to move west on Arcot. Aware that it had been almost entirely stripped of its garrison to furnish the above reinforcement, they had determined to fall upon it suddenly, after they had tempted Clive so far away as to make it difficult for him to advance to its relief. The stratagem nearly succeeded, not merely in consequence of the feebleness of the garrison, but of treachery within it. Two native sepoy officers had been gained over, and were to have opened the gates. Fortunately the plot was discovered, and the enemy, finding that the signals agreed upon were not answered, went off as suddenly as they had appeared.

A.D. 1752.

Attempt to surprise Arcot.

Notwithstanding intelligence of their departure, Clive continued his march westward, and at sunset had come within sight of Coverypauk, when the van, advancing without suspicion, were fired upon from nine pieces of cannon at the distance of only 250 yards. The whole enemy were here lying in ambuscade, and the cannons were the French artillery posted in a grove, with a ditch and bank in front. Clive made his arrangements hastily, but with the greatest coolness. Ordering the infantry to take shelter in a water-course immediately on the left, and the baggage to be moved back half a mile, under the guard of a platoon and one of the field-pieces, he sent a detachment, with two field-pieces, to oppose Rajah Sahib's cavalry, who were spreading out on the plain, and employed his other three remaining pieces to answer the fire from the grove. The French infantry advanced along the water-course in a column of six men abreast, and were met by the English infantry in the same order. Neither ventured to come to the bayonet, and an indecisive fire of musketry was kept up for two hours by moonlight. The enemy's cavalry were also kept at bay, and failed in several attempts on the baggage. So far the fight was equal. It was otherwise with the artillery. Clive's three pieces were no match for the French nine, and so many of his gunners were killed or disabled, that he saw no

Affair of Coverypauk.

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A.D. 1752. alternative but to take the enemy's battery or to retreat. The former, if practicable, was of course the more desirable, and was at once adopted, when a sergeant, who had been sent to reconnoitre, returned with the information that the enemy had left the rear of the grove without any guard. A strong detachment was immediately despatched towards the enemy's rear by a long circuit. Clive himself accompanied it half-way, and returned only in time to find the troops he had left in the water-course on the point of giving way. He succeeded with some difficulty in rallying them, and had renewed the fight, when all at once the enemy's artillery ceased to fire. The attack on the rear had been completely successful. The detachment reached the grove unperceived, and gave a general volley at the distance of only thirty yards. The panic was instantaneous, and the enemy fled without firing another shot. Many of the Frenchmen who had crowded into a choultry in the grove gladly accepted of quarter, and became prisoners of war. Among the immediate fruits of the victory were nine field-pieces, three coehorn mortars, and the surrender of the fort of Coverypauk.

Clive continued his march to Arcot, and was next day on his way to Vellore, in the hopes of inducing Mortiz Ali to pay a contribution, or at least deliver up the elephants and baggage which Rajah Sahib had deposited with him, when he received an order to repair with all his force to Fort St. David, from which it was determined to despatch him, in command of a reinforcement, to Trichinopoly. In marching south across the country in obedience to this order, he passed the spot where Nazir Jung had lost his life, and where Dupleix, to commemorate the very detestable action which he heralded as a victory, had founded a city under the name of Dupleix-Fateabad, or the City of Dupleix's Victory. In its centre a column, with a pompous inscription in French, Persian, and several Indian languages, was to have been erected. Clive did an act of justice, as well as sound policy, by levelling the whole with the ground. Though his route lay through a country still nominally in the hands of the enemy, no obstruction was offered. Their spirits and their force were equally broken; and Mahomed Ali, who lately did not possess any spot north of the Coleroon, was, mainly by Clive's exploits, put in virtual possession, as nabob, of a territory sixty miles long by thirty broad, and yielding an annual revenue of £150,000. Three days after Clive's arrival at Fort St. David, Major Lawrence returned from England and again assumed the chief military command.

A memorial of the vanity of Dupleix.

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CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of the siege of Trichinopoly—Arrival of Major Lawrence with a reinforcement—Mahomed Ali's tortuous proceedings—Discontent of his allies—Attempts of the French to recover their lost ground—Clive sails for England—Successes of Major Lawrence—New intrigues of Dupleix.

WHILE Clive was gaining his successes in Arcot, Chunda Sahib continued to beleaguer Trichinopoly. The chief burden of the siege fell upon the French, who, having obtained a train of battering artillery from their settlement of Carrical, erected their principal battery at the distance of 1200 yards from the north-east angle of the fortress. Their head-quarters were fixed at some distance eastward, near the south bank of the Cauvery; and in order to save the trouble of connecting them by trenches, they converted the battery into a regular redoubt by inclosing the flanks and rear with a parapet and a ditch. The battery was mounted with three eighteen-pounders and three mortars; and on a rock, afterwards known as the French Rock, situated nearly due south of the battery and about 2000 yards from the south-east angle of the fortress, two eighteen-pounders were placed. Two guns were also posted on the north bank of the Cauvery, within the island of Seringham, opposite to the northern gate. These arrangements indicated a great lack of engineering skill and enterprise, as both of the two gun-batteries were far too distant to make any impression on the walls. Accordingly, after they had continued for several days wasting their ammunition to no purpose, the troops under Captain Gingen not only got rid of their former fears, but ran to the opposite extreme, and blamed him for not allowing them to be foolhardy. All his caution, though it had formerly been excessive, was now necessary to prevent them from exposing themselves to disaster.

A.D. 1751.

Siege of Trichinopoly continued.

To meet the enemy's attack the defenders raised up a glacis, leaving nothing but the parapet of the wall visible, opposite to the principal battery, flung up an entrenchment opposite to the French Rock, and mounted two guns close to the south bank of the Cauvery, to answer those on the opposite side in the island of Seringham. A constant firing was now kept up on both sides without any result. The time wasted, however, began to tell severely against Mahomed Ali, whose resources were much more limited than those of the besiegers. Besides maintaining his own troops he was expected to subsidize the Company's troops. This he feared would soon become impossible, and the consequence might be that these troops would withdraw and leave him to his fate. Very naturally, therefore, he looked about for new allies, and found one in Mysore,

Nature of the defences.

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A.D. 1751. then the most powerful of the neighbouring states. Its sovereign was at this time an infant, and the whole power was concentrated in the hands of his uncle, the *dalaway* or regent, who listened to Mahomed Ali the more readily from the deep hatred which he bore to Chunda Sahib. At the same time, while gratifying his hatred, he did not forget his interest, and sold the promise of his assistance at a very extravagant rate. He was not long, however, in beginning to fulfil it. In the beginning of October, 1751, a party of horsemen arrived from Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Their number was only seventy, but they brought with them what was of more consequence, in the shape of a subsidy of 500,000 rupees (£50,000).

An auxiliary force from Mysore.

This was only a foretaste of the aid about to be furnished by the dalaway, for in the latter end of November he began to assemble an army at Caroor, about forty-five miles W.N.W. of Trichinopoly; and, not contented with his own troops, hired a body of 6000 Mahrattas, under the command of Morari Row. We have already seen 1000 of these mercenaries, under Basin Row, co-operating with Clive in Arcot. A party of 500 sent to Trichinopoly distinguished themselves as soon as they arrived by their activity; and both by the boldness of their charges, and their cunning devices in laying ambuscades, cut off a considerable number of the enemy. Unduly elated by this success, they were eager for a general engagement, and on finding the English indisposed to risk it, told them, "they were not the same kind of men they had seen fighting so gallantly at Arcot."

Polygar.[1]—From Sir S. R. Meyrick's Ancient Armour.

Mahomed Ali's prospects now began to brighten, for after some frivolous delays, the Mysore army, consisting of 12,000 horse, of whom 4000 were Mahrattas, led by Morari Row, and 8000 foot, arrived at Trichinopoly. The numbers appear much more formidable on paper than they were in reality, for at this time the Mysorean troops were cowardly and undisciplined. Independently, however, of their actual value, they had indirectly a powerful influence in inducing other neighbouring states to join the same side; and hence the King of Tanjore, who had hitherto professed neutrality, no sooner learned the arrival of the Mysorean army than he declared in favour of Mahomed Ali, and sent him an auxiliary force, consisting of 3000 horse and 2000 foot, under the command of his general Monacjee. The Polygar Tondeman, whose country is Tanjore and Madura, also espoused the same side, and sent a considerable reinforcement. The army

[1] "The Polygars derived their name from inhabiting the *pollams* or woods in the southern parts of Hindoostan, and appear to have taken their rise from municipal regulations relative to the destruction of tigers and other ferocious beasts."—Meyrick's *Illustrations of Ancient Arms and Armour.*

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of Mahomed Ali now amounted to 20,000 horse and 20,000 foot; that of Chunda Sahib, increased from different quarters, was little inferior, since it had exactly the same number of foot, and was only 5000 weaker in cavalry. A.D. 1752.

Eagerness of the native troops.

The urgency of the Mahrattas and their other confederates for action was now greatly increased, and Captain Gingen had much difficulty in resisting their importunity. When he announced his determination to wait for the reinforcement which was expected from the presidency, several of the native officers lost all patience, and scrupled not to stigmatize his so-called caution as mere cowardice. So dissatisfied, indeed, was Nusheraj, the Mysorean commander, that he was more than once on the point of returning home with his army, and was only appeased when the revenues of all the districts recovered since his arrival were made over to Mysore. Morari Row, equally offended, said less, but acted with the characteristic duplicity of his countrymen, by entering into a secret correspondence with the enemy.

Reinforcement under Lawrence and Clive.

The reinforcement commanded by Major Lawrence, ably seconded by Captain Clive, was now on its way. It consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and was cumbered with a large quantity of military stores. Both armies, aware of the effect which it might have on future operations, were equally on the alert, the one to secure its safe arrival, and the other to intercept it. On the 26th of March it arrived at a fort of the King of Tanjore, within twenty miles of Trichinopoly, and there deposited such of the stores as were most cumbersome. M. Law, the commander of the French battalion, acting not merely on his own judgment, but by special instructions from Dupleix, was determined not to allow it to pass without a strenuous effort to effect a capture. The first struggle commenced at the fort of Coilady. It was in possession of the French, who had here posted a strong body with artillery. Major Lawrence, anxious to avoid the danger, ordered his guides to look out for another road. Instead of doing so they led him to the very spot. The error was first discovered by the fire of six pieces of cannon from the opposite side of the Cauvery. Great was the confusion, but both by good fortune and good management the loss sustained was small, and the line, by diverging to the left, was soon beyond the enemy's reach. A more serious contest was at hand. On advancing towards Elimiserum, a rock crowned with a fortified pagoda, five miles south-east of Trichinopoly, Major Lawrence learned that the greater part of the enemy's army was drawn up in battle array between it and the French Rock, while the remainder occupied the space between this rock and the village of Chukleypollam, on the south bank of the Cauvery. The object was very apparent. Had the major attempted to pass to the north of Elimiserum he could scarcely have escaped being surrounded. He therefore passed to the south, and had only proceeded a short way, when he had the satisfaction of being joined by 200 Europeans and 400 sepoys under Captain Dalton, and the greater part of Mahomed Ali's army.

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A. D. 1752.

Scarcely half an hour had been spent by the troops in taking refreshment when the scouts came in at full speed to announce that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing. Clive, sent out to reconnoitre, observed that a large choultry with some stone buildings in front of the French battalion remained unoccupied, and was ordered forward as fast as possible with the first division of artillery, supported by the grenadiers, to take possession of it. The enemy, though aware of their object, did not attempt to outstrip them, as they might and ought to have done, and contented themselves with opening a cannonade. It was the hottest that had yet taken place in India, the French firing from twenty-two pieces, and the English from nine. The latter, though much fewer, did more execution, because the English not actually serving the guns were sheltered by the choultry and its buildings, while the French stood exposed in the open plain. This advantage soon told; and the enemy beginning to waver, first drew back their artillery, and then commenced a general retreat. Had the native troops on the English side done their part a decided victory might have been gained, but they had remained almost inactive, as if they had been not combatants, but mere spectators. This is said to have been owing, not to any want of bravery, but to the bad example set by Morari Row, whose intrigue with the enemy was now so far advanced that he was unwilling to act against them. Though from this cause the enemy escaped with a comparatively small loss, an important object had been gained; for the reinforcement, no longer interrupted in its progress, arrived in the course of the evening at Trichinopoly.

Attempt to intercept the reinforcement.

Activity of Major Lawrence.

Major Lawrence, not to allow the enemy to recover from the terror inspired by their defeat, proposed immediate action, but met with so many obstructions from his allies, whose notions of fortunate and unfortunate days often induced them to sacrifice their most favourable opportunities, that he resolved to attempt something with his own troops on his own responsibility. His object was to surprise Chunda Sahib's camp, which lay to the east of that of the French, and had no entrenchments. With this view he despatched Captain Dalton with 400 men, with orders to make a long circuit, and commence his attack on the east side of the camp, beat it up, and set fire to it. Owing to a blunder of the guides the expedition failed, but the mere fact of its having been attempted so alarmed the French commander that nothing would satisfy him but a retreat to the island of Seringham. Chunda Sahib remonstrated, but M. Law carried his point, and with so much precipitation, that a part of the baggage and whole magazines of provisions were set on fire, to save the difficulty of transport or prevent the danger of capture. The whole proceeding looks like infatuation. By retiring beyond the Cauvery the siege was truly at an end. Why then remain cooped up in an island, with the certainty of being soon pressed for supplies, and the probability of being excluded from the possibility of egress? The only plausible account which has been given of the enemy's withdrawal to the island is, that "they were afraid to fight, and ashamed to retreat."

Alarm of the French.

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The English East India Company, while naturally encouraged and elated by the favourable turn which affairs had taken, were suffering severely in their mercantile interest by the length and expensiveness of the war; and it therefore seemed justifiable, even at some risk of failure, to adopt any plan which promised to bring it with the least delay to a successful termination. Such a plan was suggested by Clive, and adopted by Major Lawrence. It was to form the army into two divisions; and while retaining the one south of the Cauvery, to send the other to the north of the Coleroon. Hazardous it certainly was, for the defeat of one division almost necessarily involved the destruction of both. A difficulty remained. To whom was the command of the northern division to be intrusted? Major Lawrence was anxious to appoint Clive, but several of the officers as his seniors had a prior claim. The Mahrattas and Mysoreans removed the difficulty, by declaring that they would not allow any of their troops to accompany the expedition unless Clive had the command of it. He was accordingly appointed, and after arranging to choose a central position between the Coleroon and the straits of Ootatoor, so as to be always within a forced march of Trichinopoly, set out on the 6th of April, 1752, with 400 Europeans, 700 sepoys, 3000 Mahrattas commanded by Innis Khan, 1000 Tanjorine horse, two battering cannon, and six field-pieces. Having reached the north bank of the Coleroon by crossing the island of Seringham three miles east of the pagoda of Jumbakistna, he marched north seven miles and took possession of the village of Samiaveram, with its two pagodas, one on each side of the highroad leading to Ootatoor.

A.D. 1752.

Clive in command of a division.

Dupleix, alarmed at the critical position into which Chunda Sahib's army had been brought by M. Law's injudicious retreat into the island of Seringham, sent M. d'Auteuil to supersede him. He was accompanied by 120 Europeans, 500 sepoys, with four field-pieces, and a large convoy of provisions and stores. Clive, on learning his arrival at Ootatoor, and intention to avoid Samiaveram, by making a large circuit to the west, set out with the greater part of his force to intercept him. M. d'Auteuil, informed of this movement, hastened back to Ootatoor, and Clive retraced his steps to Samiaveram. M. Law, who knew of Clive's departure and not of his return, sent a party of eighty Europeans and 700 sepoys to attack Samiaveram, and make an easy prize of the few troops who had been left in it. They arrived in the vicinity at midnight, and were informed by a spy of the return of the force sent against M. d'Auteuil. The commanding officer refused to believe it, and pushed forward with his men. On being challenged by the advanced guard of the English sepoys, an Irishman, who was in command of a body of deserters, stepped out and told them that Major Lawrence had sent him with a reinforcement. The sepoys, hearing some of the other deserters speaking English, were so fully satisfied, that they never thought of asking the counter-word, and even sent one of their number to conduct them to head-quarters. Thus guided, they passed without interruption

Affair of Samiaveram.

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A.D. 1752. through part of the Mahratta camp, and reached the lesser pagoda. Here they were challenged by the sentinels, and answered by firing a volley. Clive, who was sleeping in a neighbouring choultry, started up, and, imagining that it was his own sepoys who were firing in consequence of some alarm on the outskirts, hastened off to the larger pagoda for a body of Europeans, and returned with 200 of them to the choultry, when he was confirmed in his first impression by finding a large body of sepoys drawn up facing the south, from which any alarm might be supposed to have come, and firing at random. Never doubting that they were his own men, he left his Europeans twenty yards in their rear, and went in among them, upbraiding them for their panic. His voice betrayed him to one of the sepoys, who instantly attacked him with his sword, and wounded him in two places. Clive immediately encountered his assailant, who took to his heels and ran off for the lesser pagoda. Still unconscious of his mistake, and enraged that he should thus have been attacked by one of his own men, he followed in pursuit, and first learned the real state of matters by being accosted by six Frenchmen. With singular presence of mind, he at once recovered from his surprise, and with great composure told the Frenchmen he had come to offer them terms, at the same time bidding them look round and see how completely the pagoda was surrounded by his army. Three of the Frenchmen went back into the pagoda to acquaint their countrymen with the offer of quarter; the other three actually gave up their arms and followed him to the choultry, where he took the necessary steps to rid the camp of intruders.

Clive's narrow escape.

New dangers to Clive.

Clive's personal dangers were not yet over. The pagoda, desperately defended by the French and the English deserters, remained in their hands till daybreak. As the only chance of escape, a sally was attempted. It failed; and Clive, anxious to save further bloodshed, advanced to parley. Weak with the loss of blood and fatigue, he was standing with his back towards the wall of the porch, and leaning in a stooping posture on the shoulders of two sergeants, when the Irish deserter, probably aware that whatever terms were made, he could have no hope of mercy, insolently advanced, and telling Clive that he would shoot him, fired his musket. The bullet missed him, but passed through the bodies of both the sergeants, who fell mortally wounded. The escape looks like a miracle. It was afterwards discovered that, at the very commencement of the alarm, he had had another escape scarcely less wonderful. The very first volley which started him from his sleep, shattered a box under his feet, and killed a servant who was lying close to him. Three hairbreadth escapes in a single day—the midnight volley—the sepoy's sword—and the Irish desperado's deadly aim—make it impossible to doubt that a special Providence was watching over him and reserving him for great events. The 700 sepoys who had entered the camp, managed to quit it again during the confusion, and were hastening back to the Coleroon, when the Mahrattas were observed in full pursuit. They

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A.D 1752.

attempted to escape by throwing down their arms and dispersing. It was in vain; every man of them perished.

French reverses.

The position of the two armies was now reversed. The besiegers saw themselves besieged and in danger of being starved out. Their great hope was in M. d'Auteuil; but this hope soon failed them, for that officer, despairing not only of reaching Seringham, but of maintaining his position at Ootatoor, made a rapid retreat to Volconda, after sacrificing a large quantity of his stores. This loss, and the dangers which threatened on every side, determined Chunda Sahib's officers to execute a design which they had for some time contemplated. Approaching him in a body, they announced their determination to quit his service. Instead of upbraiding them, he told them that they had only anticipated a similar proposal from himself. He was unable to pay their arrears, but assured them that they would not be forgotten should better fortune again attend him; and gave the best proof of his sincerity by making over to them at a valuation the greater part of his elephants, camels, horses, and other military effects. Some of the troops thus set free returned home; others took service with the Mysoreans. Very few went over to Mahomed Ali; but Clive, at Samiaveram, was joined by 2000 of the best horse and 1500 sepoys. Chunda Sahib was left with only 2000 horse and 3000 foot, who were lodged in the pagoda of Seringham. The French battalion, with 2000 sepoys, shut themselves up in the pagoda of Jumbakistna, and gave out that they meant to defend themselves to the last extremity. As their only hope, they still kept their eyes turned towards M. d'Auteuil, who, on his part, so far from being able to bring them succour, was entirely occupied with his own difficulties. After various movements, which only entangled him more and more, he was cooped up by Clive in the fort of Volconda, and obliged to come to terms. One of these was that deserters should be pardoned. It seems strange that there should have been any occasion for such a clause; but its importance is perceived when we learn the astounding fact, that though the whole number of Europeans under M. d'Auteuil was only 100, no fewer than thirty-five, more than one-third of the whole, were English soldiers who had deserted.

Surrender of Volconda.

Chunda Sahib's meditated escape.

The surrender of M. d'Auteuil left the French in Seringham without the least prospect of relief. Preparatory to a capitulation, it was thought desirable that an attempt should be made to secure the escape of Chunda Sahib. M. Law was aware that in the hands of Dupleix he might still be turned to good account; and he appears, moreover, to have been sincerely desirous not to allow him to fall into the power of Mahomed Ali, who was well known to be thirsting for his life. So completely, however, was the island now watched, that the only mode of escape which seemed practicable was to bribe some of the native auxiliaries to allow him a passage through their quarters. Several were thought of—the Mahrattas, but they would sell him to the highest bidder—the Mysoreans, but they would employ him as a hostage to obtain the performance of

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A.D. 1752. the promises which Mahomed Ali had made to them—and the Tanjorines, but they bore him an old grudge, and would be willing to take an opportunity of avenging it. It was known, however, that Monacjee, the Tanjorine commander, was at variance with the prime minister, and might in consequence be induced to pursue a separate interest. To him, therefore, the overture was made. He gave his consent readily, and received a large sum of money in hand, with the promise of much more, and almost any advantage for which he chose to stipulate. The bargain was thus concluded, and nothing remained but to fix the time of Chunda Sahib's departure, when, on the 31st of May, on the arrival of battering cannon from Devicotta, Major Lawrence summoned M. Law to surrender. Monacjee, now pretending zealous friendship, took advantage of the summons to urge Chunda Sahib to come over that very night, and assured him that every hour's delay added greatly to his risk. Some suspicion of treachery was felt, and Monacjee was asked for a considerable hostage. He answered with great calmness, that if treachery was meant, no hostage could prevent it, and that, moreover, the mere giving of a hostage would be equivalent to a divulging of the whole secret. He bound himself, however, by an oath on his sword and poniard, the most sacred of all obligations to an Indian soldier, to send off Chunda Sahib as soon as he came into his quarters, with an escort of horse to Carrical. All this had taken place at an interview with M. Law, whose suspicions were still further lulled by a Tanjorine officer who told him he was to command the escort, and showed him the palanquin and other preparations for the journey. Chunda Sahib, who was waiting to hear the result of the interview, immediately placed himself in the power of Monacjee, whose first use of it was to put him in irons.

Surrender of the French force at Seringham.

M. Law, after concluding the arrangement for his unfortunate colleague in arms, had no alternative for himself. He was absolutely at the mercy of his antagonists, and had no hope except in the moderation of Major Lawrence. The French, he said, was not at war with the English; and now that Chunda Sahib was a prisoner, and his army dispersed, he expected to be treated not as an enemy, but as the representative of a friendly power, and assisted to return in safety with his army to the French settlements. Major Lawrence replied that he acted only as the interpreter of the intentions of Mahomed Ali, and justified the terms which he proposed to exact by producing a letter in which Dupleix declared that he would never cease to pursue him while a Frenchman remained in India. The first summons to M. Law was to surrender at discretion; a second, in more peremptory terms, demanded a decisive answer by a fixed hour, and added that, if the batteries once began to play, every man in the pagoda should be put to the sword. Ultimately, all evasions proving vain, M. Law resigned himself to his fate, and made an unconditional surrender. The whole force under his command, and which thus became prisoners of war, consisted of a battalion of 820 Europeans and 2000 sepoys. Their artillery were

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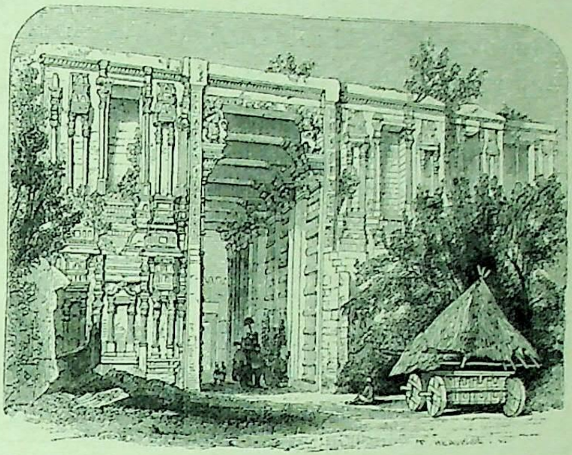
eleven battering cannon, mostly eighteen-pounders, twenty field-pieces, four thirteen-inch mortars, and two petards; they had also a large quantity of ammunition, stores, and carriages of all descriptions. The native horse and foot within the pagoda of Seringham were allowed to depart without molestation. They all embraced the offer except 1000 Rajpoots, who, having vowed to defend the sanctity of the pagoda, kept their station, and threatened death to any one who should dare to penetrate beyond the third inclosure. It was deemed unnecessary to disturb them. The only point still to be decided was the fate of Chunda Sahib. He was still the prisoner of Monacjee, who held him as his prize and refused to part with him. Major Lawrence proposed his safe custody in one of the English settlements; but the confederates were unanimous in rejecting this proposal. They were, however, far from being agreed as to any other, and Monacjee began to suspect that his prisoner would eventually give him more trouble than profit. The Dalaway of Mysore, Mahomed Ali, and Morari Row were all equally bent on securing possession of his person; and it was impossible to gratify one of them without offending the other two. In these circumstances Monacjee took the course which his savage nature dictated, and rid himself of further importunity on the subject of Chunda Sahib by putting him to death. Mahomed Ali, now freed from a rival in the Carnatic, became nabob in reality as well as in name, and will in future be mentioned under that title.

A.D. 1752.



GATEWAY OF PAGODA AT SERINGHAM.—From Fergusson's Ancient Architecture of Hindoostan.

Cruel fate of Chunda Sahib.

No sooner was the surrender of the French completed than Major Lawrence urged the nabob to lose no time in proceeding into the Carnatic at the head of the confederate army. The soundness of his advice was readily admitted; still the nabob lingered and betrayed a mysterious backwardness to move. Major Lawrence had no idea of the cause, till the Mysorean explained it by refusing to move until Trichinopoly and its dependencies were yielded up to him as the stipulated recompense of his services. The secret had been well kept; but now, when dissimulation could no longer avail, the nabob, when questioned on the subject, readily admitted that he had promised all which the Mysorean asked. This ought to have settled the question; and be the consequences what they might, the only honest course was to fulfil the promise. Nothing, however, was farther from the nabob's intention, and it was easy to devise plausible pre-

Mahomed Ali's tortuous policy.

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A.D. 1752.

texts for evading the obligation. Trichinopoly was not his; it belonged to the Great Mogul; he was only viceroy, and might be recalled at pleasure; the Mysorean, when he took advantage of his distress to extort the promise, must have known that it was not in his power to perform it; to give up Trichinopoly to an Indian king would only be to involve himself and the British as his allies in a war with the whole Mogul empire.

Mahomed Ali supported by the Company.

It would be useless to explain the negotiations which ensued, and detail the cunning tricks which the parties employed to outwit each other. The most important point is that the Company, while recommending mutual concession, agreed to stand by the nabob, and so far to support him in his injustice by intimating to the Mysorean, that if he had recourse to force they would repel it. The effect was to patch up a hollow agreement, which neither party meant to keep. By this agreement the dalaway was put in possession of the revenues of the island of Seringham and some other districts, and promised the possession of Trichinopoly in two months; in return he engaged to assist the nabob with all his force in the complete reduction of the nabobship. When, in terms of this agreement, the Mysorean was asked to march, he made so many frivolous excuses as left no doubt as to his intentions. As the most effectual means of frustrating them, Captain Dalton was left in Trichinopoly with 200 Europeans and 1500 sepoys. This measure was doubtless necessary, since the Mysoreans and Mahrattas still retained their old encampment in the vicinity; but it greatly reduced the strength of the expedition intended for the Carnatic, reducing the Company's battalion to 500 men and 2500 sepoys, while the nabob was unable to accompany them with more than 2000 horse. Such was the whole army which set out on the 28th of June, to accomplish objects for which ten times their number would scarcely have sufficed. The first place of importance which they reached was Volconda, the governor of which, though he refused to deliver up the fort, took the oath of allegiance to Mahomed Ali, as nabob, and, besides paying 80,000 rupees as arrears, gave security for the regular payment of the revenue in future. From Volconda the nabob sent his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, with 1000 horse, to Arcot, appointing him deputy-governor of the districts north of the Paliar, and proceeded with the rest of the troops to Trivadi, about seventeen miles west of Fort St. David. To this settlement, now no longer the seat of government, which had been again removed to Madras, Major Lawrence repaired for the recovery of his health, leaving the command to Captain Gingen.

Proceedings in the Carnatic.

The reverses sustained by the French in the south produced great consternation at Pondicherry. These, however, were somewhat balanced by the successes of M. Bussy in the north. After the death of Muzzuffer Jung, Salabut Jung, the new soubahdar, appointed by Bussy's influence, proceeded with him for Karnool, by the hand of whose chief Muzzuffer Jung had fallen, and barbarously revenged the act by massacring a large number of the inhabitants, storming the fort, and putting the garrison to the sword. They then crossed

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